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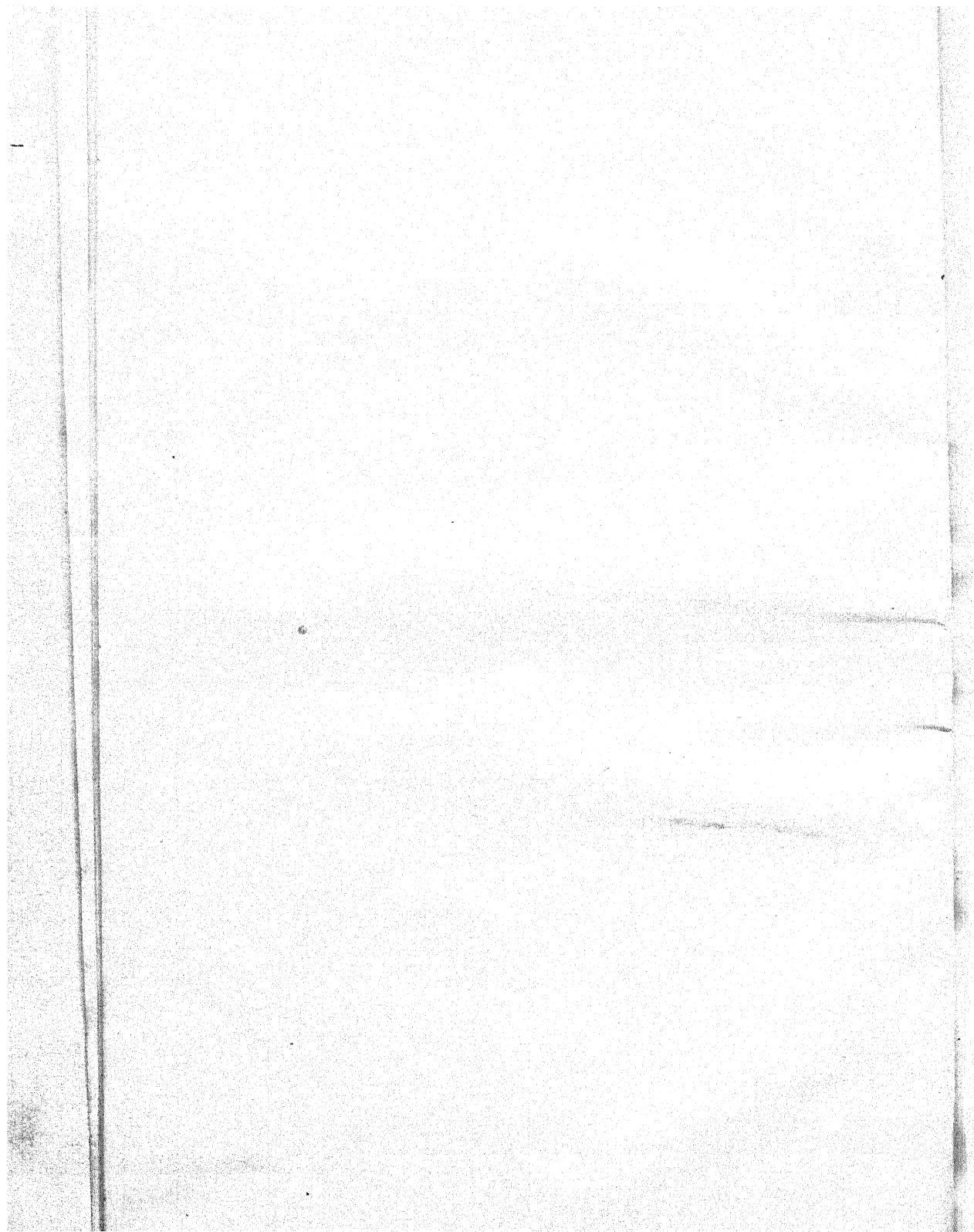
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THE FAMILY-HYMNS IN THE FAMILY-MANĀDALAS

By H. D. VELANKAR

1. It seems almost certain that in the Family-Maṇḍalas we always get one or more hymns which may be described as the proper Family-hymns, i.e., hymns which seek to glorify the family by singing praise of some extraordinary and characteristic exploit of an early ancestor in the family. The only exception seems to be the second Maṇḍala, at least for the present. This Family-hymn is invariably found in the midst of the Indra hymns—in four cases, at the end of the group—, and this is very natural. The chief inspirer of brave deeds and unusual exploits is that great god and no other. These hymns do not indeed appear to have been intentionally inserted in the Collection as such, because, in that case, there would have existed greater similarity between them in respect of their contents, construction, position and such other things. But none such can be traced in a very prominent degree and our criterion for noting down such hymns must be, as said above, an enthusiastic reference found in them to some characteristic supernatural or unusual exploit of an earlier ancestor, of which the family may rightly feel proud.

2. Geldner has already shown at *Kommentar*, pp. 56, 94 and *Rgveda, übersetzt und erläutert*, p. 353, how III. 53, VI. 47 and VII. 33 are all such Family-hymns. All the three are found at the end of the Indra group. We may add V. 40 to these three. This last also stands at the end of the Indra group and glorifies Atri as the saviour of the Sun and through him also of the family of the Atris. One more thing that strikes us about III. 53, V. 40 and VI. 47 is that they are all probably based on an originally effective charm; for details, see under each. To this last category

also belongs III. 33; but it is not found at the end of the Indra group. Similarly VII. 18 must be considered as a Family-hymn of the Vasiṣṭhas and the same must be said of IV. 18. These last two are neither based on an original charm, nor are they found at the end of the Indra group and still they unmistakably bear the characteristics of a Family-hymn. So that it is not possible to say that the Family-hymns were introduced in the Family Collections with a conscious design or in emulation with each other. Their composition again need not be ascribed necessarily to the Ṛṣis who prominently figure in them, though this may be correct in the case of III. 33 and 53 and VII. 18. They may have been composed long after the events mentioned in them took place and by the descendents of the Ṛṣis whom they seek to glorify. Their presence in the Collection, however, is beyond doubt. In the following paragraphs, I propose to discuss briefly the contents of these Family-hymns, of which, the Viśvāmitras and the Vasiṣṭhas claim two each, while the Vāmadevas, the Atris and the Bharaadvājas have only one each to their credit.

3. It is now an established fact that the composition of the hymns in each Family-Maṇḍala extended over a very long period. Sometimes, even two or three or more generations are represented in a Family Collection, as is evident from the persons and the events alluded to in its hymns. And on the whole, it may safely be assumed that most of the hymns in the Family-Maṇḍalas were composed by the poets in the family who were far removed in point of time from those early ancestors of theirs, whose exploits they seek to glorify as their special Family property in the Family-hymns mentioned above. These ancestors appear to be treated almost as mythical heroes by these poets and it would be improper to expect a connected historical account about them in their compositions. For a detailed discussion about the authorship of the hymns in the Rgvedic Maṇḍalas, compare Oldenberg, ZDMG., vol. 42, pp. 199ff.

4. The two Family-hymns¹ of the Viśvāmitras are III. 33 and III. 53. In both these, their great ancestor Viśvāmitra, the son of Kuśika, is glorified. In the latter, the Great Viśvāmitra is described as "a great sage born from the gods and inspired by them" in v. 9. The Viśvāmitras impress us, on the whole, as an ambitious family (III. 30. 19-20), who attempt to trace their descent directly from the semi-divine Aṅgirasas, the sons of Heaven, at III. 53. 7; 39. 4. The ambitious poet-philosopher of III. 38 desires to meet these divine poets and to know from them the cosmological secrets directly. Similarly, the author of III. 39 describes the Aṅgirasas as the great fighters for cows and as "our ancestors", while the poet of III. 31 enthusiastically praises the holy birth of these divine beings as the younger brothers of Agni from the Uṣas and Dyauh

¹ Translated into English and briefly annotated at BUJ., May, 1935, pp. 15 and 38.

Pitā. Their close connection with the Jamadagnis and through them with the Bhrgus and the great Bhrgvaṅgiras family is also evident from III. 53. 15-16, 62. 18 and X. 167. 4. They are described as the worshippers of the Vaiśvānara Agni at III. 26. 3. But the author of III. 43 is particularly ambitious and requests Indra to make him "a defender of the people and also their *king*" in v. 5. This is perhaps the R̥gvedic origin of the later Purāṇic and also post-R̥gvedic tradition according to which Viśvāmitra was a Kṣatriya and a ruling prince. The Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa calls him so at 21-12-2, while Yāska at Nirukta II. 14 calls his father Kuśika a king. There are, however, no indications in the R̥gveda itself of this except perhaps the passage noted above. They are always described as priests and at III. 30. 20, 50. 4 and 53. 10 they are actually called "viprāḥ". They were greatly favoured by Indra in particular, who therefore is invited as "Kauśika" by a Viśvāmitra at I. 10. 11.

5. It would appear that owing to their relationship with the great Ṃgiras family, they somehow succeeded the Bharadvājas as the family priests at the court of the Bharata princes during the reign of King Sudās. See below for a detailed discussion of this point para. 17. For a while it went on very well with them and their leader the Great Viśvāmitra enjoyed the full confidence and patronage of Sudās and the Bharatas. But ultimately, due to reasons which are not very clear, he began to lose his influence at the court and was finally supplanted by the Vasiṣṭhas led by Maitrāvaruṇi. In III. 33, we have a glorious description of the great feat of this Great Viśvāmitra, namely, his leading the Bharatas safely across the unfordable confluence of the two rivers, Vipāś and Śutudri, after their successful plunder-raid against some enemy. The crossing was effected by means of a powerful and successful appeal made by the sage to these two rivers, in words which are very probably preserved to us in the last stanza of the hymn, which then came to be regarded as an effective spell for crossing a river in flood. Compare R̥gvidhāna, II. 2. 4; Kauśika Gr̥hya Sūtra, 77. 15; Śāṅkhāyana Gr̥hya, I. 15. 20. The dramatic setting which is prefixed to this spell is probably the creation of the imagination of a later Viśvāmitra who composed a lively dialogue in which the rivers are first represented as pleased with the praise of the sage in vv. 1-3, but at the same time unable to stop their stream for long, as it was flowing at full speed along the bed prepared for it by the gods. They therefore advise the sage to speak out quickly what he wanted from them (v. 4). The sage explains his purpose and requests them to stop for a while to receive the Soma and the hymn which he had brought for them (v. 5). The rivers point out that that could not be done as they were flowing *without stopping* at the command of Indra and Savitā (v. 6). The sage, however, corrects them by showing how Indra had killed Ahi and the other obstructors merely to free them and to enable them to enjoy *unrestricted movement according to their will*. He had

never intended to dictate to the rivers in any way. They went forward *because they willed* to do so (v. 7d), and can now stop if they chose to do it. The rivers are mightily pleased with the sage, but still they argue that they might be degraded in the eyes of men if they were made to stop their stream at the request of a human being. So they advise the sage to remember his praise about their free movement and continue to sing similar praises to them which might be repeated by future generations with approbation (v. 8). The sage thereupon prays that his coming to them from a very long distance and with a hopeful heart and expectant followers should be taken into account by them before they pronounce their final verdict (v. 9). The rivers are deeply touched and allow the sage to cross them with all his paraphernalia (v. 10). The sage requests them to stop until all the Bharatas cross them and then to flow once more as usual (vv. 11-12).

6. In the next Family-hymn¹ of the Viśvāmitras, which stands at the end of the Indra group (III. 53), this same great feat of Viśvāmitra is mentioned in v. 9. But its main theme is the great Aśvamedha sacrifice which King Sudās performed after his world-conquest including the subjugation of the Kikāṭas, who were very rich atheists. At this great sacrifice the Great Viśvāmitra officiated as the chief priest and was assisted by his followers the Kuśikas (vv. 10-14). On this occasion, he offered Soma to Indra and also probably to the Aṅgirasas whom he gratefully remembers (vv. 2-7). He also silenced his opponents, probably the Vasiṣṭhas, in the open court at this time, when they sought to bring him into disgrace with the Bharatas and their king, by exposing his ignorance in some ritualistic matters. He succeeded in overcoming this ignorance of his (v. 15a) with the help of the Sasarpārī, who was probably a female flying Yātu (cf. pakṣyā; see my note on the passage), given him by his friend Jamadagni, who as a Bhārgava belonged to the great magician family of the Bhr̥gvaṅgirasas. Viśvāmitra openly admits this and this is why he specifically mentions the Aṅgirasas in v. 7 with gratitude. At the end of the Aśvamedha, Viśvāmitra received ample rewards from his patron, but here indeed was the first beginning of his ultimate fall. He intended to carry the rewards in the bullock carts and on this occasion, again, he composed and pronounced a powerful spell (vv. 17-21) to protect the rich prize from falling into the hands of his rivals who were, it seems, practising some magic rites to destroy the strength of his bulls and carts. This supposition is necessary owing to the unusual nature of the address to the bulls and carts that are being led homewards and not *towards a battle-field*. In vv. 21-24, Viśvāmitra ridicules² the ignorance displayed by his rivals in the practice of the magic rites—now it

¹ Translated into English and briefly annotated at BUJ., May, 1935, p. 38.

² See Oldenberg's interpretation of these stanzas given in my note at BUJ., May, 1935, p. 42.

was his turn to ridicule—that were being performed to destroy him. In v. 22, he agrees that certain parts of the rite were rightly done; but in v. 23, he points out the defects in it and in the last stanza, he also finds fault with those of the Bharatas who evidently had sided with the rival. It is rather difficult to say who this rival was, who was ignorant of the correct performance of a magic rite. Perhaps he was some friend of the Vasiṣṭhas, who wanted to do a good turn to them, after they had been defeated at the court of King Sudās by the Viśvāmitra with the help of the Sasarpari. We cannot imagine that they were Vasiṣṭhas themselves, as these appear to be deadly against such practices. The Vedic tradition about these stanzas, however, persists in saying that these stanzas, i.e., 21–24, were directed against the Vasiṣṭhas themselves; cf. Durga on Nirukta IV. 14. 2. It is therefore not unlikely that the stanzas are to be regarded as an angry outburst of the haughty Viśvāmitra, whose weakness had been exposed by the Vasiṣṭhas in the open court, against the latter, as has been supposed by me in my notes on them, following Sāyana and Geldner. But this construction would undoubtedly deprive the peculiarly worded charm in vv. 16–20 of much of its sharpness and covert defiance flung at the rival whosoever it was.

7. Out of these two Family-hymns, the former fully represents the glory which Viśvāmitra at one time enjoyed at the court of the Bharatas, while the latter reflects the last phase of his priestly eminence. Though both of them are based on original spells, the former may have been separated from the events it describes by a long period, while the latter seems to have been composed within a comparatively short time after the downfall of Viśvāmitra at the court of Sudās. The reference to the earlier exploit in v. 9 and to his protective care of the Bharatas in v. 12 looks like the reference to his early services by a deposed officer, and has a ring of contemporaneity about it.

8. The Family-hymn¹ in the next Maṇḍala is undoubtedly IV. 18 in my opinion. The Vāmadevas are perhaps a branch of the great Bhṛgvaṅgiras family. They describe themselves as the Gotamas and these latter are closely connected with the Aṅgirasas; cf. Vedic Index I, p. 234. In the later Purāṇic tradition, Vāmadeva is definitely regarded as an Aṅgiras; cf. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 222. The Vāmadevas on the whole impress us as persons who are conscious of their superiority. They know much more about Indra and his history than the members of the other Vedic families. They have greater influence with him than the other comparatively *modern* poets. And all this is quite natural in their view, because their ancestor the Great Vāmadeva was so high a personage that he could have a personal talk with Indra! In the hymn mentioned above, namely, IV. 18,

¹ Translated into English and briefly annotated at BUJ., May, 1938, pp. 35ff.

the poet gives us a conversation between the Great Vāmadeva, Aditi and Indra. Vāmadeva is made to take part in an event which, we are told, took place at the time of Indra's birth. Indra wanted to come out of his mother's womb by breaking open her sides, as the usual passage was too narrow for him. Vāmadeva advises him not to do so lest he might kill his mother; but Indra does not listen to him and comes out in his own way, but without killing his mother or harming her in any way. The mother, however, is much displeased with the refractory boy and leaves him just where he lay and walks away towards her husband's home. Indra also gets up as a full-fledged warrior after a temporary swoon, which was removed with the help of the Waters. He walks after his mother, after a momentary indecision, to the house of Tvaṣṭṛ and there replenishes himself with the large quantities of Soma which were deposited there. He however feels offended by the behaviour of his mother and bears a sort of grudge towards her, until Vāmadeva extracts an explanation from her that it was done through her ignorance about the great powers of her son. Vāmadeva thus reconciles the mother and the son and again asks a sympathetic question to Indra in v. 12 about the murder of his father. In his answer, Indra is made to explain how it was done owing to a sudden provocation and a feeling of exasperation, in v. 13. For my interpretation of the whole hymn, I request the reader to refer to BUJ., May, 1938, pp. 35-40.

9. The hymn is mainly intended to glorify the Great Vāmadeva by attempting to show how he was even more ancient than Indra himself and how, on that account, he knew more about Indra than any other poet, and finally how he could act as a conciliator between Indra and his mother, a feat which would be unthinkable for an ordinary human being. It will be noticed that this Family-hymn is of a different type; it does not commemorate any particular human exploit of an ancient Vāmadeva in connection with a victory achieved by his patrons through his assistance. Nor is it based upon an original magical spell which brought glory to the family by achieving a spectacular victory for their patrons. It is more or less comparable with VII. 33 in this respect. It claims a direct contact with the celestial beings for the venerable ancestor. It would seem that the Vāmadevas did not enjoy any continuous patronage of any great Kṣatriya chiefs in spite of their great priestly powers and influence with Indra. Perhaps they were too self-conscious to be constantly under the services of any one.¹ But it is quite probable that they occasionally officiated at the sacrifices offered by the Bharatas, since the Bharata princes Divodāsa Atithigva and Śrñjaya Daivavāta are mentioned in the fourth Maṇḍala; cf. IV. 15. 4, 26. 3, 30. 20. Somaka, son of Saha-deva (15. 9), and Goṣaṇo Napāt (32. 22) are other patrons who are

¹ Compare IV. 24. 8-10 and my notes on them in particular at BUJ., May, 1938, pp. 51-52.

mentioned in the Maṇḍala. The former is a Śrījaya prince, while the latter seems to be merely a nickname.

10. The Family-hymn¹ of the Atri is undoubtedly V. 40. It records the wonderful exploit of the Great Atri, namely, the rescue of the Sun from the demon Svarbhānu. How exactly this was carried out cannot be accurately reconstructed from the description of the event given in the last five stanzas of the hymn. It seems to be something like this: Svarbhānu once enveloped the Sun in darkness from above and below. All creatures looked bewildered and did not know where they were. Indra began to attack Svarbhānu's wiles which were extending from the heaven downwards. Atri from below ran to Indra's help² and pulled out the Sun from the mass of darkness by means of his magic hymn. The Sun, who was thus saved, was terribly afraid of the demon, and sought shelter with his defender on earth, i.e., Atri. The Sun identifies Atri with Mitra and requests him and King Varuṇa to save him from the clutches of the demon. In the meanwhile, Indra had finished the Asura from above, and then the Great Atri—evidently with Indra's help—placed the Sun in the heaven once more. In the last stanza, the poet gloriously declares that such a wonderful feat could be performed by the Atris alone and that no other sages were capable of doing this. The hymn stands at the end of the Indra group, and is clearly reminiscent of a spell. It is, however, difficult to say which portion of it was originally regarded as a spell. The words "*turiyeṇa brahmaṇā*" in v. 6 clearly refer to a magic spell. This would perhaps mean that the spell consisted of four stanzas, and if we have to get them out of our hymn, our choice must fall upon vv. 5 to 8, since the first four are merely introductory, while the last one is a glorious generalization of the poet himself. The actual words in v. 7 lend great colour to this charm; they are ascribed to the Sun, who in his turn is addressed by the sage in v. 5. It is also probable that the original charm consisted only of two stanzas, i.e., 5 and 7, and the other two stanzas are the utterances of the poet himself, like the last stanza.

There is one more hymn³ in the fifth Maṇḍala, i.e., V. 30, which looks like a Family-hymn, but on a closer examination it is found not to be so. It was composed by Babhru, who was the recipient of generous gifts from the Rūṣamas and their king Rṇaṇicaya, who achieved a great victory over some Dāsa chief, with the help of the Atris under the leadership of this Babhru.

¹ Translated into English and briefly annotated at BUJ., Sept., 1939, p. 26.

² It is improper to connect this episode with another in which Atri was himself saved by the Aśvinā from the R̥bīsa. See for an unsuccessful attempt (in my opinion) to explain these two episodes as belonging to the solar eclipse and its observation (!) by Atri from a Himalayan cave, at JRAS. Bengal, 1941, pp. 91ff.

³ Translated into English and briefly annotated at BUJ., Sept., 1939, pp. 6ff.

The descriptions of a few events in the battle are realistic and suggest that Babhru was present on that occasion. The enemy of R̥ṇāñcāya is not mentioned; but he is identified with the demon Namuci, for reasons which cannot be easily guessed. Namuci himself was evidently not meant, because the killing of Namuci like that of Vṛtra, which is described in the immediately preceding stanza, seems rather to belong to the realm of mythology even in the eyes of Babhru, who mentally identifies the two situations and passes over quickly from the past to the present. He imagines himself to have been present at the time of killing Namuci, as he was chosen to be his friend by Indra himself on the occasion (v. 8). The connecting link between the two events, the past and the present, is formed by vv. 10 and 11. Namuci employed women (?) as his weapon, had stolen away the cows of the Aryans and separated them from their calves and had challenged Indra after putting up Indra's two nurses, the Waters and the Cow, (as captives) in the midst of his weak armies (v. 9). The same was probably done by R̥ṇāñcāya's enemy and was similarly dealt with by Indra. The original protégé of Indra against Namuci was Namī Sāyya or Sāpya as is evident from I. 53. 7cd; VI. 20. 6cd. Here he is not mentioned at all.

12. In the sixth Maṇḍala, Divodāsa Atithigva,¹ son of Vadhryaśva and a prince of the Bharata family figures as the chief patron of the Bharadvājas. The Bharadvājas are indeed the descendants of the ancient Āngirases and naturally have the Reformer's blood in their veins like their unorthodox ancestors. So we need not wonder if, on one occasion, they officiated as chief priests at the sacrifice performed by a Dāsa chief called Br̥bu, who probably lived on the vast and fertile bank of the Ganges, with which he is compared in point of vastness, i.e., liberality. They describe this Paṇi-chief as a thousand-winning and thousand-giving Sūri. Manusmṛti X. 107 calls this Br̥bu a "takṣan", i.e., a carpenter and Vedic Index, II, p. 70, suggests that he was a merchant prince. The adjectives *sahasrātama* and *sūri*, however, rather indicate that he was a fighter and a warrior. On the whole, however, the Bharadvājas seem to have enjoyed a continued patronage at the court of Divodāsa Atithigva, and this glorious connection between Divodāsa and Bharadvāja is also mentioned outside the sixth Maṇḍala; cf. e.g., I. 112. 13cd, 14ab, 116. 18ab. That Divodāsa Atithigva was a Bharata is not to be doubted. That Bharata in VI. 16. 4 is no other than our Divodāsa is clear from the next stanza. Similarly v. 19 of this same hymn leaves no doubt about it, because *Divodāsasya bhārataḥ agniḥ* is mentioned there. Divodāsa's father was Vadhryaśva, as said above, whose guardian deity was Agni Vaiśvānara as is seen from X. 69. Vadhryaśva's priests were at that time the Sumitras as is seen from this latter hymn. His

¹ See my article on the four Atithigvas in the Jubilee Volume of the ABORI., 1942. Divodāsa is only one of these four.

chief enemy was the Dāsa Br̥saya and his followers (VI. 61. 3), who were killed by him with the help of Sarasvatī and Agni Vaiśvānara. This is why Agni is described as having killed the *Br̥sayaśya śeṣaḥ* at I. 93. 4c. Divodāsa too, like his father, was a great devotee of Agni, who on that account is called *divodāsaḥ* at VIII. 103. 2. Agni is also described as the "reliable leader" (*sat-patiḥ*) of Divodāsa at VI. 16. 19. It also seems that on one occasion Divodāsa received help from the Maruts, as is hinted at VII. 18. 25; so that the words *bharata* and *rājā* at V. 54. 14d refer to him and his followers. But the greatest defender of him was Indra who secured for him the defeat of his principal foes, namely, Śambara and Varcin. This feat is also ascribed to the Aśvinā at I. 112. 14, 116. 18 and 119. 4.

13. The Family-hymn¹ of the Bharadvājas is undoubtedly VI. 47 as Geldner has already rightly recognized. Like the Family-hymns of the Viśvāmitras, this too is based on an original spell which consists of vv. 26–31. The spell is a war-charm, specially addressed to the war-chariot and the war-drum. Both of these last were probably those which were employed by Divodāsa in his great decisive battle against the Dāsas Śambara and Varcin, and the spell was probably composed by the Bharadvāja Pāyū who is described in the hymn by a later poet as the recipient of rich rewards from Divodāsa and his allies. From the hymn itself we do not get any important details of the long-drawn hostilities between Divodāsa Atithigva and the two Dāsa chiefs. They may be reconstructed, however, from other passages in the Ṛgveda as follows: Śambara, son of Kulitara, was a rich Dāsa prince and possessed a hundred strong hill-forts. One of these, which was very high (*br̥hat*), was reserved by him as his residential palace, and was on that account full of rich treasures (*vasumān*); cf. II. 24. 2; IV. 26. 3; VII. 19. 5. Indra hunted out this Śambara from fort to fort until he was finally found out after a long time (in the 40th year of the hostilities; cf. II. 12. 11) in his residential fortress, namely, the 100th one. Indra chased Śambara out of his palace and ultimately pushed him down from the lofty mountain-peak, so that his head was battered down, though not completely smashed; cf. IV. 30. 14; VI. 26. 5; VII. 18. 20 and VI. 26. 3cd. Our hymn, strangely enough, does not mention any of these details except the smashing of the 99 forts in v. 2. It, however, suggests that Śambara had survived even the last blow which was dealt to him by Indra in his last fort, and, coming down to the plains, had joined his friend Varcin. This Varcin also was a powerful Dāsa chief, who had a very large number of followers, often described as "hundreds and thousands"; cf. II. 14. 6cd; IV. 30. 15; VI. 26. 5ab; VII. 99. 5cd. Our hymn describes how these "black" followers of Varcin were sent to the other half of the world, i.e., to death, by

¹ Translated into English and briefly annotated at BUJ., Sept., 1942, p. 70.

Divodāsa with Indra's help day by day, until at last he finally killed the two Dāsa chieftains, namely, Śambara and Varcin, in a water-bounded station of cows (*udavraja*) where they had taken shelter from the pursuing Bharata king. From this place they perhaps attempted to bargain with Divodāsa for their freedom, if I have understood the meaning *vasnayantā* correctly; cf. my note on IV. 24. 9, at BUJ., May, 1938, p. 51. From the mention of the *udavraja*, which evidently means "an island station of the cows", like the one used by the Panis in the middle of the stream of the river Rasā (cf. X. 108 and Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa II. 438-439; the cows are said to be *rasāyām antar valena apihitāh*), and also from the last stanza of our hymn, where *amūḥ* and *imāḥ* clearly refer to the cows (cf. also *aja* and *pratyāvartaya*), it seems pretty certain that Varcin had possessed several *vrajas* of the cows, the strongest among these being the *udavraja*. This *udavraja* corresponded to the loftiest mountain-fort (*br̥han parvata*) of his friend Śambara, who was therefore powerful in the mountains, while Varcin was similarly strong on the plains.

14. In vv. 22-25 of the hymn, we have the Dānastuti of Prastoka, son of Sṛijaya, and Āsvatha (= Āsvattha; cf. Vedic Index I, p. 44), which seems to be only another name of Divodāsa Atithigva, given him because of his possession of good horses, perhaps in contrast with his father's name Vadhryaśva, which signifies "one whose horses are worthless". In addition to the absence of details of the fight with Śambara and Varcin, another striking thing about our hymn is that it makes a pointed reference to Indra's readiness to help the weak and the humble (vv. 15-17), against the most powerful and arrogant foes. He unhesitatingly abandons such persons and goes over to those who are harassed by them. It is possible that the reference is intended to convince the future patrons that it is not their great power and riches alone which is capable of achieving victory, but they must have also the sympathy and co-operation of the priests who alone can secure Indra's intervention in their favour. There must have existed some persons who asserted jeeringly that Indra was either a non-entity or if at all he existed, he always helped the brave and the powerful, since they alone were victorious in battles. The stanzas are a reply to such men. For, did not Divodāsa Atithigva and his ally succeed against such powerful enemies as Śambara and Varcin? Assuming that the hymn forms a unity and is not a mere collection of stray pieces, it would seem from vv. 19-20, that in the battle with Śambara, the Bharatas under the leadership of Divodāsa had a very anxious time at some stage of it, just as their descendants under Sudās had in the Dāśarājña war. And when this is granted, one is really very struck with the rather meek, defensive and pessimistic tone (cf. v. 7cd, 8, 9d, 10a, 11d, 12c, 13d) of the Bharadvāja poet, especially when we meet with such proud assertions and outbursts as III. 53. 12, VII. 18. 17ab, 33. 6cd, 82. 4d, 7cd, of the Viśvāmitras and the Vasiṣṭhas on similar occasions. See

also the claims of the Atri Babhru at V. 30. 11. The only sentence which indicates the poet's proud confidence in his ancestors is v. 19*cd*, where *āśīneṣu sūriṣu* refers to their earlier sacrifice before the battle. Perhaps this aloofness was due to the fact that a greater part of the hymn, except perhaps the Dānastuti and the spell, i.e., vv. 22–31, was composed several years—perhaps a generation or two—after the actual event took place. It may have been composed on the occasion of a Soma sacrifice, offered by some descendent of Divodāsa before the commencement of a *defensive* battle against his enemy; cf. the tone of vv. 7–13. That it was composed long after the event which it describes in vv. 2 and 21 is also clear from the dry and conventional manner of the description of it. The Vedic tradition also confirms this view by ascribing the composition of the hymn to Garga and not to Pāyu, who is mentioned in the Dānastuti and who was very likely the author of that Dānastuti and the war-charm.

15. It is, however, not impossible that the Divodāsa mentioned in the Dānastuti is not the original Divodāsa, but some later descendent of his, named Prastoka Aśvattha, son of Sṛījaya. He was identified with the older Divodāsa, because according to the usual practice of the Vedic poets, his enemy was, or rather his enemies were, identified with the legendary demons Śambara and Varcin. See above the remarks on V. 30 in paragraph 11. The words in v. 22*cd* are very vague: "We have received the Śambara-like property from Divodāsa, as Atithigva's gift". What does the poet mean by putting Divodāsa and Atithigva in two different cases, i.e., the ablative and the genitive? Why again does he use the rather mild *tadhita* form *śāmbaram* instead of the forceful genitive *śambarasya*? To say that both these things were due to metre is a way out of the difficulty, but surely not a convincing one. *Śāmbaram vasu* may more naturally be taken to mean "vasu which a Śambara might possess", i.e., excessive wealth; similarly, *Atithigvasya rādhas* may more naturally be understood as "a gift which an Atithigva is capable of giving", particularly so, when the person from whom the gift is received, i.e., Divodāsa is put in a different case, thus suggesting the difference between the two persons, namely, Divodāsa and Atithigva. Geldner's explanation of the incongruence of cases as being due to the fact that the root *prati*+*/grah* governs both the cases (cf. *Kommentar*, p. 97) does not satisfy me. In short, the peculiar use of the two words may lead one to the conclusion that here Śambara and Atithigva are introduced as standards of richness and liberality; and that the patron from whom Pāyu received the gifts recorded in the hymn may have been called Divodāsa by the poet after his ancestor Divodāsa Atithigva, in a metaphorical manner. But in any case, the hymn can be safely regarded as the Family-hymn of the Bharadvājas, since it glorifies Divodāsa as their ideal hero and patron and his conquest of Śambara and Varcin as an ideal heroic deed done under their spiritual leadership.

16. Chronologically, the main events alluded to in the seventh Maṇḍala, which belongs to the Vasiṣṭhas, appear to be removed from those of the sixth by two or three generations, though some of the events and persons are clearly contemporaneous (thus e.g., Vīṭahavya VI. 15. 3 and VII. 19. 3. Purukutsa, a contemporary of Sudās, mentioned at VI. 20. 10). Divodāsa was the great patron and king of the times of the early Bharadvājas, who were a distinguished branch of the ancient Atharvāṅgiras family; cf. VI. 47. 24 and the mention of Atharvan at VI. 15. 17, 16. 13, 14. The Bharadvāja poet of VI. 11 calls himself *vepiṣṭho aṅgirasām* in v. 3. Divodāsa was probably succeeded by his son Pratardana, who is mentioned at the Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad III. 1. This Pratardana evidently retained the Bharadvājas in the priestly office at his court as is seen from the Kāthaka Saṁhitā 21. 10, where Pratardana is said to have received his kingdom from the Bharadvājas. The reference to the Bharatas by the name "*pratrdah*" at Rv. VII. 33. 14 may safely be assumed to have a reference to this ancestor of theirs. In the sixth Maṇḍala itself, we have further a reference to Kṣatraśrī, son of Pratardana, at VI. 26. 8. Thus the Bharadvājas appear to have enjoyed the spiritual leadership of the Bharatas at least for three generations continuously. They first came to power under Divodāsa, since the family priests of his father Vadhryaśva were the Sumitras as we saw above (in para. 12). After Kṣatraśrī, we hear of Pijavana, the father of Sudās, and this is in the seventh Maṇḍala and that too through the use of the patronymic "*paijavana*" of Sudās. It is not possible to say what relation Pijavana bore to Kṣatraśrī. Perhaps he was his son. The Purāṇic tradition drops the names of Pratardana and Kṣatraśrī altogether, but makes Pijavana the fourth descendent from Divodāsa; cf. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 116. In any case, it is abundantly clear, that when King Sudās appeared on the horizon, the Viśvāmitras had already seized the priestly power under the Bharatas. It is again impossible to say how or when they displaced the Bharadvājas. The Bharadvājas may not have possessed a capable leader among themselves and therefore might have handed over the leadership to the Viśvāmitras who, like themselves, claimed to belong to the great Bhṛgu-Atharva-Aṅgiras family, as shown above. Or were the Viśvāmitras in some way connected with the Sumitras (as is suggested by the latter part of the two names) who had served at the court of Vadhryaśva and thus only claimed back their ancestral rights? It is equally conceivable that priests were allowed to dispute each other's supremacy at the courts of kings even at this early period, exactly as they are represented to do in the days of the Upaniṣads. This is corroborated by the dispute between Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha, the reminiscences of which are doubtless to be found in the story of the Sasarparī at III. 53. 15-16 and the references to the "Liar" at VII. 104. 8, 12, 13, etc. The contest for supremacy between these two families, i.e., the Viśvāmitras and the Vasiṣṭhas, seems to have

gone on for a pretty long time and it appears that for a while, even the Bharatas themselves were practically divided into two camps in support of them. Ultimately however, the Vasiṣṭhas succeeded against the Viśvāmitras in spite of the help which the latter must have received from the families belonging to the great Atharvāṅgiras group.

17. It must be borne in mind that the contest between these two families was of a different nature from the usual contests of priests for supremacy. The Viśvāmitras and the Vasiṣṭhas represented two mutually opposed ideologies. Viśvāmitras belonged to the Atharvāṅgiras group, i.e., the group of reformers who were well versed in the knowledge and practice of charms and spells, and who advocated the use of these by the Vedic priests if and when necessary. The Vasiṣṭhas, on the other hand, represented the orthodox branch of the Aryans who hated the practice of employing the services of lower spirits and absolutely refused to recognize the authority of any supernatural being which did not belong to the old Vedic Pantheon. They entirely relied upon the old Vedic gods and would not practise witchcraft even for counteracting the effects of non-Vedic spells and charms employed against them by others. They besought Indra, the powerful destroyer of the demons, to destroy even these minor devils. It is obvious that they believed in their existence; cf. the vivid description of some of such devils given the Vasiṣṭha poet of VII. 104. 17, 18, 22, 24. But they bravely refused to submit themselves to their authority. It is likely that the name *yātu* was invented and made current by the later Vasiṣṭhas; it occurs in the *first* and the *last* hymns only of Maṇḍala VII. Among the Family-Maṇḍalas, the Vāmadevas and the Atris mention this name only once each; but it is totally absent in the three remaining Maṇḍalas, i.e., second, third and sixth. All the three belong to the Atharvāṅgiras group, and their silence about *yātu* is significant. It has to be admitted, however, that the Rākṣoghna Sūkta X. 87 is ascribed to Pāyū Bharadvāja by the Vedic tradition and this Sūkta strongly condemns the *yātus* and the *yātudhānas* and requests Agni to kill them.

18. Anyhow, we find the Vasiṣṭhas firmly established at the court of Sudās, the leader of the Bharatas, in the seventh Maṇḍala. The most glorious exploit achieved by the Vasiṣṭhas for Sudās and the Bharatas is the victory in the Dāśarājña war. This is described very vividly and with a personal touch in VII. 18. The situation¹ was somewhat like this: Sudās with a comparatively small army of his followers, the Bharatas, was once attacked by the combined and vast armies of the ten kings and cornered by them on the bank of the high-flowing river Paruṣṇī. Seeing the futility of resistance, Sudās thought of escaping to the other bank of the river. This was made possible for him by Indra who, at the request of Vasiṣṭha, made the waters of the Paruṣṇī shallow

¹ The hymn is translated into English with brief notes in the Appendix.

and easily fordable to him. Some of the ten allies tried to pursue Sudās by crossing the river after him. They were, however, drowned, because, as soon as they entered the river, they were overpowered by a powerful flood sent down by Indra. Some of the enemies tried to make the waters of the river shallow by digging channels in various directions and thus dividing the stream. Even in this attempt they failed and met with a severe disaster. Many were washed off by the powerful current and some who succeeded in reaching the other bank were immediately killed by Sudās and the Bharatas.

19. The names of the ten kings,—if *ten* is at all intended to be definitive and not descriptive, and I believe it is only descriptive—cannot be fully ascertained. There is reason to believe that all of them were Aryans supported by respectable priests, though they are described as *ayajyavah* at VII. 83. 7 and one of them is called *anindra* at VII. 18. 16. The adjectives can only mean that they were not successful sacrificers and had no great faith in Indra. At any rate, it is impossible to include the name of Śambara, who was the enemy of Sudās's ancestor Divodāsa, among the *ten*, as is done by some. Similarly, Bheda, probably a Dāsa chief assisted by the Ajas, the Śigrus, and the Yakṣus does not seem to belong to the principal battle of the Dāśarājña war. Bheda was defeated on the banks of the river Yamunā and the Dāśarājña war was fought and decided on the banks of the Paruṣṇī. Evidently, the poet has begun to recount some other earlier favours of Indra with v. 18, as is clear from a reference to Śambara in v. 20; compare also the beginning of v. 18: "Many indeed were the enemies who yielded themselves to you". It is of course true that, unlike Śambara, Bheda was defeated by Sudās in the company of the Vasiṣṭhas as is seen from VII. 33. 3*b* and VII. 83. 4*b*; but this was probably before the Dāśarājña war as said above and as is suggested by VII. 33. 3 also. Besides, from the vivid descriptions of events found in VII. 18, one is led to believe that this hymn was composed not long after the Dāśarājña war, possibly on the occasion of a subsequent sacrifice performed in celebration of the victory, under the guidance of the Vasiṣṭhas whose leader received rich gifts on the occasion. The "crossing of the river" mentioned at VII. 33. 3*a* is the same as the one described at VII. 18. 5, namely, the crossing of the Paruṣṇī by Sudās and the Bharatas in the first stage of the Dāśarājña war. The Yakṣu, spoken of in VII. 18. 6*a*, was perhaps one of the Yakṣus¹ who were put to rout on the banks of Yamunā in the battle with Bheda, and who had joined the federation out of a spirit of vengeance. Among the proper names mentioned in

¹ See, however, the translation of the stanza, where I have taken *yakṣu* as an adjective of Turvaśa, to make the description look more ironical. But it is also possible to translate: "Turvaśa and Yakṣu became indeed the cake-offering in the sacrifice of war". That there is some irony in the description given by the hymn is sufficiently clear (cf. v. 6*ab*, 15*cd*, etc.), but it is doubtful whether we are justified in looking out for it consistently and everywhere.

this hymn at least two, i.e., Bhṛgavaḥ and Kavaṣa who was *vrddha* and *śruta*, are obviously the names of priests. The name of the Bhṛgus who belonged to the Bhṛgvaṅgiras family appearing on the side of the ten kings makes my suggestion about the conflict between the orthodox and reformer families of the Vedic ṛṣis look more plausible. It may also support the suggestion of Hopkins, JAOS., 15, p. 261, that the hymn contains covert allusions to the Viśvāmitras in vv. 6, 7, 9, 10, 15, where words like *sakhā*, *mitra* and the like are purposely employed. It is, however, true that in the post-Rgvedic literature there are no references to Viśvāmitras joining at any time the enemies of Sudās and his Bharatas.

20. Another hymn¹ which pointedly and specifically glorifies the family of the Vasiṣṭhas, by mentioning the celestial origin of their earlier ancestor who served Sudās, is VII. 33. The victory over the ten kings won by Sudās with the help of Vasiṣṭha is mentioned even here (vv. 3-6). But it looks like an event of the long past in this hymn. At the time of its composition, Sudās's Vasiṣṭha was probably not living and his glory was being sung by his descendants. In this hymn, the Vasiṣṭhas are described in glowing terms: They know all the secrets of the world; their greatness, importance and swiftness are inimitable; and all this was so because their great ancestor was the son of the deities Mitrāvaruṇā, born from the celestial nymph Ūrvaśī. Vasiṣṭha is represented in this curious hymn as helping the progress of the work started by Yama, i.e., possibly the work of leading human beings to a world of eternal bliss (cf. Rv. X. 14. 1-2), in vv. 9 and 12. Does the poet mean to say that Vasiṣṭha, being born among the Vasiṣṭhas as a human being, guided men from hell to heaven, by teaching them to worship the Vedic gods alone and not the non-Aryan devils and lower spirits? Anyhow our poet emphasizes the two distinct births of the Great Vasiṣṭha, one which may be described as celestial, from Mitrāvaruṇā and Ūrvaśī and the other as a human being among the Vasiṣṭhas. The second birth seems to be purposely kept shrouded in mystery; we are merely told how Agastya brought this Vasiṣṭha as a human being to men, particularly to the Bharatas, the descendants of Prataṛdāna and Sudās. The later theory about the incarnation of celestial beings as human beings among men finds its greatest and earliest support in this hymn. We may well remember the famous promise of Śrīkṛṣṇa in the Bhagavadgītā that he was and will be born among men now and then, for the defence of the good and the destruction of the wicked, in this connection; compare Bhagavadgītā IV. 7-8.

¹ The hymn is translated into English with brief notes in the Appendix.

APPENDIX

Rgveda VII. 18

(TRANSLATION)

(1) It was indeed from you, that even our Fathers obtained all sorts of wealth as your singers, Oh Indra. In you all cows yielding abundant milk (are centred), and in you also the horses. You are the greatest winner of riches for the pious worshipper. (2) You do dwell indeed (with our hymns) like a king with his harem-women; favour our hymns with lovely form, cows and horses, controlling them [abhi san] as a wise poet day by day. Sharpen us for (deserving) wealth. (3) Here these delightful hymns, loyal to the gods and vying with each other, have started for you. Let your path of riches turn towards us. May we be in your favour and protection. (4) Vasiṣṭha has sent near you his hymns to milk you like a cow (grazing) in a good pasture. All people call you alone the rich Lord of mine; may Indra come towards our hymn. (5) Indra made even the vastly flowing waters of (the Paruṣṇī) shallow and easily fordable to King Sudās. He who is fit to be honoured by our hymn, made the arrogant Śimyu and his imprecations the floating dirt (on the surface) of the River. (6) Turvaśa,

(1) *tve ha yat*: Cf. *tvam ha yat* VIII. 75. 3; *tvam ha tyat* I. 63. 4, 5, 7; VI. 18. 3; VII. 19. 2; VIII. 96. 16, 17, 18; X. 89. 8; *tvām ha tat* I. 63. 6; *tava ha tyat*, VI. 20. 30. (2) The hymn is compared with a wife even at III. 39. 1-2; possession of many wives was regarded as a sign of royalty and vigour; cf. VII. 26. 3c. Also see I. 66. 4d; 116. 10d; IX. 86. 32d, etc. *abhi san*: cf. II. 28. 1ab. I take *ava* as the verb and *piśā* as an instrumental form like *gobhiḥ* and *aśvaiḥ*. A *dhī* or *gīr* is often described as possessed of *peśas*: I. 61. 16 (*viśvapeśasam dhiyam*); II. 34. 6 (*vājapeśasam dhiyam*); II. 35. 1 (*gīrah supēśasah*); also cf. *vācam pipīṣuḥ* at VII. 103. 6. *rāye śiśṭhi*: "Sharpen us and make us fit for receiving wealth". The poet means to say that a special trimming and training by the deity is needed for this. See v. 6d, where the poor Matsyas thought that they were so fitted and therefore attacked Sudās, but ultimately found to their dismay that after all they were not so fitted. Hence the poet's request to Indra at the beginning. (3) *ab*: The hymns as wives vying with each other to get to Indra first and to possess him. (4) The cows are very fond of *yavasa*: cf. I. 91. 13ab; VI. 28. 7a; VIII. 92. 12. Indra is compared with a cow happily grazing in the pasture and the hymns with a calf at whose appearance the cow yields abundant milk. (5) *ucathasya navyaḥ*: cf. *navya ukthaiḥ* I. 61. 13b; *navyam arkaiḥ* I. 190. 1b; *ucathasya navyaḥ* V. 12. 3b; *navyam gīrbhiḥ* VIII. 16. 1b. (6) *yakṣuḥ*: See the foot-note on p. 14. *b: rāye nīṣitā api iva*: see note on v. 2 above. Mark the force of *api* and *iva*. The former is an adverb modifying *nīṣitāḥ*. *d: viśūcoḥ*: The word surely does not refer to the "two opposing armies", namely, that of Sudās and that of his enemies; it refers only to the army which was put to rout by Sudās. The plural *viśūcām* is thus expected; but the poet perhaps refers to the several pairs of the streams of the running foes, where a person tried to save another from the adjacent stream. This would be more graphic. That *viśūcoḥ* refers only to the fleeing army is not to be doubted; cf. VI. 25. 2c; VII. 85. 2b; X. 27. 18a. The poet is cruelly ironical: The Bhrgus and the Druhyus had come there to obey their leader in overthrowing King Sudās; they did obey, but only in following their leader to death.

the sacrificer, himself became the cake-offering; and so were also the Matsyas, who (thought) as if [iva] (they) were specially [api] fitted for receiving wealth! The Bhṛguś and the Druhuś followed them obediently! In (each of) the two adjacent streams of the fleeing foes, a friend did help another friend (to save his life)! (7) These (i.e., the priests of the ten kings) did send their prayers (to Indra), eagerly behaving as the preparers of sacrificial foods, as Bhalānases, and even as Alinas and the holy bearers of the horn. But, he who leads only the Aryan and is his feast-companion, has met these brave men (only) in a battle, with a desire to win loot for the Tṛtsus. (8) Those ignorant fools of impious thoughts divided the stream of the Paruṣṇī, trying to make the freely moving river go astray! (And then) the poet (of the enemy) lay down as a victim (following the cake-offering), looking steadfastly (because dead!) and stretched himself over the earth in full length, thus mastering it! (9) They went to the Paruṣṇī to meet with a disaster like one who goes to meet a goal. Even the swift (horse) could not reach the resting place, i.e., the camp. For the sake of Sudās, Indra subdued the gracefully (!) retreating enemies of impotent words among men. (10) They went away like cows without a keeper, (when driven out) from the pasture, collecting themselves around a friend whom they could possibly secure; they were sent down to the earth (by Indra) to possess cows in the form

Similarly, they had come as friends and allies to help each other in the overthrow of Sudās; they did help each other; but only in saving their lives if they could! (7) *ā bhananta*: Supply *nivīdam* or *chandasa* and cf. IV. 18. 6-7; VI. 11. 3. The meaning of *bhalānasaḥ* and the other adjectives is not very clear to me; perhaps we should follow Sāyaṇa. The meaning of the stanza however is quite clear. The contrast between the enemy and "our party", as between the Matsyas and "us" in v. 6b, is evident. The enemy's priests called upon Indra to help them; Indra did go to them; but only to fight with their patrons and to overthrow them! (8) *c* is most naturally construed with *d*. Perhaps the Kavi in *d* was Viśvāmitra whose ambition to be "a king of the people" is expressed at III. 43. 5ab and "paśu" may be an ironical reference to III. 53. 23b; somebody on our side then wrongly regarded a "lodha" as a "paśu"; but now at least the wise Kavi rightly offers himself as a true "paśu" in the sacrifice of the battle! For *patyamānaḥ* in this ironical sense, cf. VI. 27. 6cd and X. 27. 6b. It is also possible to construe *c* with Indra: "By his greatness, Indra spread himself over the earth fully mastering it"; cf. III. 36. 4; 54. 15; VIII. 6. 15; 88. 5; X. 111. 2. But this would be rather unnatural, if we are right in the interpretation of *d* as an ironical description. (9) *śutukān*: The prefix *śu* is ironical. See VI. 27. 6d; X. 42. 5. *māmuse*: Supply *jane* and cf. I. 48. 11; V. 14. 2; 21. 2; VI. 16. 1; VIII. 64. 10; X. 118. 9. (10) This refers also to the enemies. *Prṣni* is the Mother Earth and the poet seems to be still possessed of the ironical tone of v. 8cd. They were *gavyavaḥ* (v. 14) and *rāye nīśitāḥ iva* (v. 6); and Indra did send them down to the *Prṣni* to possess the *prṣni* cows (*prṣni* being double-meaning). *nī* in *nīpṛeṣitāśaḥ* is significant and shows that *prṣni* may be the earth as understood in the later Vedic literature. *rantayaḥ*: From *√ram* or *√ran*. The word means "enjoyment", same as the "bhojana" in vv. 15 and 17 below. Indra's *mada* is called *rantya* "fit to give *ranti*" at IX. 29. 3; cf. also IX. 102. 5cd: "The *rantayaḥ*, i.e., enjoyments become enviable when they accept his *vratā*". Compare *īṣa īṣavratā akāḥ* III. 59. 9; *spārha* is a common adjective

of the earth! their horses and enjoyments obediently followed them there! (11) King (Sudās) cut up his enemies, like a lovely priest who cuts down the grass for a sacrificial seat, when he overthrew the 21 peoples of the two Vikarṇas with a desire for fame. Brave Indra brought about their flight. (12) Indeed, Indra with the Bolt in his arms smashed down the old and learned Kavaśa in the waters (of the Paruṣṇī) to follow the Druhyu (his patron). (On the other hand), those who were loyal to you, choosing your friendship now for the sake of ever-continued friendship, have rejoiced after you. (13) In a moment did Indra batter down with force all the seven forts and other strong places of these, i.e., the enemies. He gave away the wealth of the Anu prince to the Trtsu priest; we have conquered the Pūru prince who had used insolent words in the sacrificial assembly. (14) The loot-seeking Anus and the Druhyus numbering sixty hundred and six thousand respectively, lay down in eternal slumber. (But) the brave warriors (on our side) were (only) sixty and six more, (who did the same) to render service (to Indra). Even all these brave deeds were the performances of Indra. (15) These Trtsus, when backed up and inspired by Indra, swooped down (upon the enemy) like streams of water moving downwards when released (by Indra after killing Vṛtra). The enemies who had bad friends, abandoned all their possessions to Sudās, even though they were measurers, knowing even the smallest fraction (of things which they give to others). (16) King Sudās drove down to the ground that enemy who was only a half warrior, who drank the sacrificial food himself, who

of words like *rādhas*, *vasu*, *ratna* and the like. (11) The 21 peoples of the two Vikarṇas may be the 21 clans following the lead of the two Vikarṇas, i.e., Vikarṇa kings. Or Vikarṇas may be the two countries, upper and lower, of that name. Construe *abc* together; *nī śiśāti*, the common term, finds itself boxed up in the simile owing to the metre. For the simile, cf. I. 63. 7c. *sargam* ✓ *kr* seems to be a proverbial expression belonging to horse-racing. (12) Again a contrast between old and learned Kavaśa and the Vasiṣṭhas; *adha* perhaps conveys the feeling of sympathy. (13) *eṣām* refers to the enemies in general and *ab* is a general statement; *sapta* is descriptive. In the Dāśarājña war, there is otherwise no mention of forts and fortified places being smashed by Indra or Sudās. *d*: It would seem as if the Pūru king who was defeated in this war had insulted the Vasiṣṭhas at his court or sacrifice. (14) The figures are confounding. But it is likely that the two figures in *b* (they are identical but differently expressed) refer respectively to the Anus and the Druhyus in *a*, while the figures in *c* refer to the warriors on the poet's side who fell in the battle, as suggested by Oldenberg. In the descriptions of battles in the R̥gveda, however, there is generally no mention of the "killed" on the side of the victorious party; only the enemy's "killed" are mentioned. Thus even the figures in *c* may be referring to the Anus and the Druhyus each. *vīra* is used even of enemy's warriors; cf. VII. 99. 5d. (15) There is a contrast intended between *prakalavit mīmānāḥ* and *viśvāni jahuh*. *nīcīḥ* is an adjective of the Upamāna alone. *prakalavit* is a nominative used adverbially: "those who measured in the manner of one who knows even the smallest fraction". (16) *śṛtapām*: "Drinker or eater of sacrificial food". Cf. the *śṛtam haviḥ* used of King Soma at IX. 114. 4, and also *śṛtapām anindram* at X. 27. 6. See also Bhagavad Gita, III. 13. *d*: In view

had no faith in Indra and who was an arrogant person. Indra destroyed the fury of him who struck with fury. He distributed paths (to men), being the Lord of the Way. (17) He indeed performed that matchless deed even with the help of a weak person; he killed even a lion with a goat. Indra pared the angles of a pillar with a mere needle. He gave all the enjoyments (of the enemy) to Sudās. (18) Many indeed were your enemies who ultimately yielded to you. Do you secure the subjugation of even the arrogant Bheda. Send down your sharp Bolt against him, who does any wrong to the praising mortals, Oh Indra. (19) The Yamunā and the Trtsus pleased Indra; here did he plunder Bheda completely. The Ājas, the Sigrus and the Yakṣus brought their tribute, namely, the heads of the horses, to him. (20) Neither your favours nor your treasures can be fully described like the old and the new Dawns. You killed even that Devaka, the son of Manyamāna; you indeed dashed down Śambara from the lofty (mountain). (21) Parāśara, Śatayātu and Vasiṣṭha, who wandered away from their homes with delight out of devotion to you, never neglected the friendship of their liberal patron (Indra). Hence should happy days dawn upon our princely patrons (the Bharatas). (22) Deserving a gift of two hundred cows and two chariots with full harness from Sudās, son of Pijavana and grandson of Devavān, Oh Agni, I go round (the gift) praising, like the Hotṛ, i.e., Agni himself, going round his fire-places. (23) The four horses, the gift of Sudās Pajavana, which are properly trained and are lavishly bedecked with gold, and which move in a straightforward manner striking the ground steadily, carry me, the child (of Indra), forward to fame and offspring. (24) The seven rivers glorify that (great Donor Sudās) like Indra, whose fame the great Distributor (Indra)

of v. 8c, it is tempting to take *d* as referring to the enemy, as Sāyaṇa does; but *b* would suggest that he is already dead. So I take Indra from *c* as the subject of *bheje*. See V. 79. 7 for *√bhaj* in the sense of "to give". Indra gave us a path of escape across the Paruṣṇī, but to the enemy he gave none; he killed them. (17) The meaning of *veśyā* or *veśi* is uncertain. *ādhra* is the opposite of *tura*: cf. VII. 41. 2; *srakti* is an angle or side; cf. *aṣṭapadīm navasraktīm vācam* at VIII. 76. 12. (18) *aśvānī śṛṅgāṇi*: The expression is peculiar. It means "selected or prominent horses". The horse's head prominently figures in the legend of Dadhyac and the Aśvinā. Sāyaṇa takes the heads to be those of the dead horses; in that case the "baliharana" would be only metaphorical. *balīm jabhruḥ*: cf. VIII. 100. 9cd; X. 173. 6cd; also I. 70. 5b and VII. 6. 5d. (20) Supply *parvatāt* after *bṛhataḥ* and cf. IV. 30. 14; V. 43. 11; 76. 4; X. 58. 9. (21) The stanza forms a transition to the Dānastuti in vv. 22-25. (22) Agni is addressed here because the Dānastuti portion of this hymn in particular was composed for the occasion of the sacrifice offered into Agni after the victory. *devavataḥ* is an adjective of Divodāsa. Perhaps a pun on the words *div* and *deva* is meant. For the word, cf. IV. 26. 6; VI. 47. 10; VIII. 31. 15. In *d*, *hoteva sadma* is a compound simile; cf. IX. 97. 1ab, 92. 6a. Hotā is Agni and the reference is to the rite of paryagnikarāṇa. "Going round the gift" probably signified the regular acceptance of it, taking it under one's own protection. (23) *smaddiṣṭayāḥ*: "those whose training (*dīṣṭi*) was good". (24) *yasya* in *a* refers to King Sudās, who is the Upameya in *c*. For the simile, cf. I. 102. 2. Yudhyāmadhi is

has distributed to every head between the two worlds. He killed Yudhyāmadhi in a battle. (25) Oh valiant Maruts, wait upon this king as you did upon Divodāsa, the ancestor of Sudās. In a helpful manner, favour the heart's desire of Paijavana and also his sovereign rule which is indestructible and never grows old.

Rgveda VII. 33

(1) The white-robed sages with the knot of their hair to the right have greatly delighted me by stirring up my heart. (When I heard their hymn), I got up from my grass-seat and said to the men around: "The Vasiṣṭhas are not to be favoured by me from a distance". (2) They brought Indra to themselves from afar by means of their pressed juice, away from Vaiśanta and in spite of the fierce Pānta! (Similarly), Indra chose his Vasiṣṭhas (and went to them), leaving aside (even) the pressed juice of Pāśadyumna Vāyata. (3) Thus did he cross the river (Paruṣṇī) with them; thus did he kill Bheda with them. Thus indeed did Indra save Sudās in the Dāśarājña war owing to your hymn, oh Vasiṣṭhas. (4) Willingly, oh men, did I cover the axle owing to the hymn of your ancestor saying "not indeed will you perish"; because, oh Vasiṣṭhas, you have put strength in Indra by your loud voice conveyed through the Śakvaris. (5) (The Trtsus) when surrounded and distressed in the Dāśarājña war looked up (to Indra for help), as thirsty men look up to the heaven (for rain). Indra heard while Vasiṣṭha was praising him and gave wide enough space to the Trtsus. (6) The Bharatas were very few and limited like the sticks used for driving the cows. But as soon as Vasiṣṭha became their leader,

not mentioned anywhere else. (25) *imam* refers to Sudās. At the end of *b*, the poet has used *sudāsah* instead of the expected *sudāsam* to avoid the inconvenient association of the word *pitaram* with *sudās*. *duwoyu*: adverbially used. Indra serves a hymn which is faultless; cf. III. 51. 3b.

(1) This stanza is conceived as a speech of Indra testifying to the praise of the Vasiṣṭhas contained in vv. 2-9. (2) The words *tirah* and *ati* rather suggest that Vaiśanta and Pānta are proper names like Pāśadyumna Vāyata. Similarly *ugram* is best taken with a person than with the drink, which is called *tivra* and not *ugra*. Perhaps: "They brought the fierce Indra from afar, away from and in spite of the tubful drink." (3) The *sindhu* is the Paruṣṇī; see VII. 18. 5ab. *bhedam*: see VII. 18. 18-19 and VII. 83. 4. (4) *ḥ*: The reference is to some otherwise unknown miracle of Indra, in which he saved Vasiṣṭha from an accident by supporting the broken axle of his chariot, or of the chariot of his patron. The fear of a breaking axle of a cart is expressed even at III. 53. 17a. *na kilā riṣātha*: These are perhaps the words addressed by Indra to the early Vasiṣṭha who was thus saved; or, they may have been addressed even to the present Vasiṣṭhas like the remaining portion of the stanza: "Willingly did I cover the axle of the chariot owing to the hymn of your ancestor; you shall never perish, because oh Vasiṣṭhas, etc." *pitṛnām* is a plural of respect like *apsarasah* and *vasiṣṭhāḥ* in v. 9. (6) The simile is significant; the driving stick is small and unimportant until it is held in his hand by the cow-boy; so were the

immediately then the followers of the Ṛṣis became vast and unlimited. (7) The three gods send down the germinating seed, i.e., the rain among the creatures; the three peoples are Aryan and led by the sun's light. The three Fires wait upon the Dawn. All these the Vasiṣṭhas know very well. (8) Their light (of glory) is like the growing splendour of the sun; their greatness is vast like that of the ocean. Your hymn is inimitable by others like the swiftness of Wind, oh Vasiṣṭhas. (9) They alone move about fearlessly owing to the knowledge of their heart, in the Secret of a thousand branches. Intending to weave that (secret) garment, first woven by Yama, the Vasiṣṭhas approached the celestial nymph (for birth). (10) That was your one birth, oh Vasiṣṭha, when Mitra and Varuṇa saw you leaving your own luminous body of lightning (for being born as their son from Ūrvaśī). (And) when Agastya brought you to the human beings, (that was your second birth). (11) And indeed you are the son of Mitrāvaruṇā, oh Vasiṣṭha, born from Ūrvaśī, owing to their ardent love for her. The Viśve Devas held their dropped semen in a lotus with the help of a celestial hymn. (12) That Vasiṣṭha, well acquainted with both (gods and men), who is an appreciative giver of a thousand gifts or, even a continual giver of gifts, was born from the nymph, intending to weave the garment first woven by Yama. (13) Being impelled by the prayers (of the Viśve Devas), they (i.e., Mitra and Varuṇa) visited their sacrifice and dropped their semen together in a jar (at the sight of Ūrvaśī). From the middle of it arose Māna. They call the sage Vasiṣṭha who was born from that (semen). (14) "He

Bharatas until they were led by the Vasiṣṭha. (7) This is a riddle. The three are Agni, Vāyu and Sūrya; the three peoples are the denizens of the earth, the mid-air and the heaven. The three Gharmanas are the three Vedic Fires. (9) *sahasraśāṅgam nityam*: The empirical world with its manifold existence is meant. The same is meant by *paridhī* in c. *paridhī* is the same as *paridhāna* in the classical literature. The *nitya* is imagined as a tree in b (cf. the *Āśvattha* tree in the B.G. XV), and as a garment in c. Yama is regarded as the first mortal who died and started a new life in another world; cf. Rv. X. 14. 1; Av. XVIII. 3. 13. (10) The two births of Vasiṣṭha: One from Mitrāvaruṇā and the other among the human beings as the human priest Vasiṣṭha. The second birth is purposely kept shrouded in mystery. We are only told how Agastya brought Vasiṣṭha in the garb of a human priest to the descendants of King Prati and recommended him to their care (vv. 10, 14). Naturally, his celestial birth is described in greater detail in vv. 11 to 13 to inspire reverence and confidence. (11) *urvaśyāḥ*: is the ablative of source and *manaso*, the ablative of instrument. Once upon a time, the Viśve Devas performed a sacrifice. Mitra and Varuṇa were also there. While engaged in the performance of the sacrifice, the two deities saw a lovely nymph called Ūrvaśī and out of passion for her dropped their semen, which was, however, partly held in a lotus by the Viśve Devas and taken to the nymph. The nymph took it and brought forth Vasiṣṭha from it in some mysterious manner. This is the first birth of Vasiṣṭha, when M. and V. saw the celestial Vasiṣṭha leaving his own body of lightning and entering into their semen to be born from the nymph. The other part of their semen fell into the jar of water and from it arose Agastya Māna. It seems Agastya was born earlier and is conceived as Vasiṣṭha's elder brother. (12) *praketah ubhayasya*: cf. *dadhāti ketum ubhayasya jantoḥ* VII. 9. 1c. (14) These are the

supports the bringers of Uktha and the Sāman. Holding the press-stone, he always speaks with authority in front of all. Wait upon him with a delighted mind; here comes Vasiṣṭha to you, oh descendents of Pratr̥d."

words of Agastya who thus introduces Vasiṣṭha to the Bharatas. He supports the Hotṛ and the Udgātṛ priests (*a*); he holds the press-stone and speaks on any matter connected with the sacrifice with full authority. *pratr̥dah*: The descendents of Pratr̥d, one of the ancestors of the Bharatas.

YAJÑAPHALAM: A NEWLY DISCOVERED DRAMA BY BHĀSA ¹

By A. D. PUSALKER, *Bombay*

As if to give a fresh impetus to the study of the Bhāsa Problem and revive interest in the pioneer Sanskrit dramatist when the scholars who took part in the controversy have switched on to different topics, Rajavaidya Jivarama Kalidasa SASTRI of Gondal has recently published a drama named *Yajñaphalam*.² It has come down anonymously and the learned editor has ascribed it to Bhāsa. In the present paper I propose to place my views on the problem of the authorship of the *Yajñaphalam*.

Before coming to the play proper, it is worth considering the story of its discovery, which has been given in the introduction. The editor secured a collection of MSS. from Benares, Surat and the Punjab before some 17 years, which contained two copies of the MS. of the *Yajña-nāṭaka* or *Yajña-phala nāṭaka*. It could not be published earlier owing to multifarious activities and pressure of work. The description of the MSS. is as follows: MS. क, which has appeared in print, contains 14 folios, written on both sides in the Devanāgarī script. The MS. is 10 *aṅgulas* (about 8") long by 7½ *aṅgulas* (about 6") in breadth, and has 32-33 lines per page. The colophon reads:

इति यज्ञनाटकं समाप्तं विक्रमार्क संवत् १७२७ आश्विनकृष्णपक्षे द्वितीयायां
भौमवासरे लिखितं स्वामी शुद्धानन्द तीर्थ ।

Thus the MS. is about 270 years old. MS. ख is later than the above MS., and variants of this MS. have been noted in the footnotes in the printed text. The number of folios is 15, and the measurements are 16 *aṅgulas* (about 13") by 5 *aṅgulas* (about 4"), with 25 lines per page. The colophon reads:

इति यज्ञफलं सम्पूर्णं विक्रमीय संवत्सर १८५९ मासानामुत्तमे पौषमासे
सिते पक्षे पूर्णिमायां गुरुवासरे लिखितं देवप्रसादशर्मणा हस्तिनापुरनिवासी ।

As compared with the story of the discovery of the Bhāsa MSS. related by the late MM. Dr. T. Ganapati SASTRI and others,³ many peculiarities strike as the unique features of these MSS. In the first place, these are the only MSS. of Bhāsa hailing from the north.

¹ Paper read at the Eleventh All-India Oriental Conference, 1941, Hyderabad.

² *Yajñaphala*. Published by Rasasālā Anusadhāśrama, Gondal. July, 1941, size 7" by 5", pp. 20+208, price Rs.5.

³ Cf. my *Bhāsa—A Study*, Lahore, 1941, pp. 2-3, 82-83.

In contrast to the MSS. hitherto discovered which are in the Grantha script, these MSS. are in Devanāgarī characters, and presumably the substance is paper. The MSS. from the south are all palm-leaf. The new discovery, no doubt, realizes the hope entertained that vigorous search may bring forth fresh Bhāsa MSS. in other parts of India besides the south.

Now, with regard to the title of the play, *Yajñaphalam* literally means "the fruit of sacrifice", and as such, it is more than appropriate for the play. It refers to three different *Yajñaphalas*,—the first being the *yajñaphala* of Daśaratha (p. 6) in the form of birth of sons. The second *yajñaphala* is that for Viśvāmitra (pp. 138ff.) in the form of peace to all living beings in the hermitage by the killing of Subāhu and the flight of Mārīca at the hands of Rāma; and the third and the principal *yajñaphala* to which presumably the drama owes its title is that of the annual sacrifice of Janaka (pp. 168, 198ff.) in the form of the marriages of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and other princes with Sitā, Urmilā and other princesses.

It is now time for us to consider whether the *Yajñaphalam* can be ascribed to Bhāsa. The learned SASTRI in his introduction (p. 2) makes a general statement that on account of the high antiquity of the language, the excellence of the plot, the beauty of Rasas, Bhāvas and Alambkāras, etc., and also the similarity with Bhāsa dramas in general and with the characteristics mentioned by Bāṇa and others, he firmly believes in Bhāsa's authorship of the piece. We shall briefly consider similarities of the *Yajñaphalam* with the Bhāsa plays.

The first thing that strikes a student of Bhāsa is that the *Yajñaphalam* presents the same structural features as the other Bhāsa plays¹; they are, e.g., it begins with नान्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः; there is no mention of the name of the poet or the piece in the brief introductory prologue, which is styled *sthāpanā* instead of the classical *prastāvanā*; the *maṅgala-śloka* is in *Mudrālaṅkāra* in company with the *Svapnavāsavadattā* (*Svapna*), *Pratijñāyugandharāyaṇa* (*Pratijñā*), *Pañcarātra* (*Pañc*) and *Pratimā* (*Prat*); the opening is of the *Prayogātisāya* type as is common in the Bhāsa dramas; Natī is introduced also in the *Avimāraka* (*Avi*), *Prat* and *Pratijñā*; the *Bharatavākya*, though not identically worded, contains the main ideas of the typical, normal Bhāsa epilogue.²

These structural peculiarities have a unique bearing in this case as they show that the North-Indian MSS. also preserved these features, thus taking the wind out of the sails of the opponents of the Bhāsa theory who maintained that the so-called structural

¹ For the structural features of Bhāsa's plays, cf. *Bhāsa—A Study*, pp. 5-6.

² The epilogue is:

रक्षन्तु वर्णा धर्मं स्वं प्रजाः स्युरनुपप्लुताः ।
त्वं राजसिंह पृथिवीं सागरान्तां प्रशाधि च ॥

features of the Bhāsa dramas were only the mannerisms of the South-Indian scribes.¹

There is almost an identity of expression in stating the principal duties of kings as told in the *Yajñaphalam* (*Yaj*) and other Bhāsa plays, such as the *Pratijñā*, *Avi* and *Kaṇabhāra*.² With the utterances of Daśaratha in the *Yaj* (I. 7, 10; II. 2) may be compared the *Pratijñā* (I. 3) and *Avi* (I. 2). The statement एवमविज्ञातानि दैवतान्यभिभूयन्ते (*Yaj*, p. 94) finds its parallel in the *Svapna* (Trivandrum, 1924 Ed., p. 10: एवमनिर्ज्ञातानि दैवतान्यवधूयन्ते). Rājya has been referred to as *bhāra* in the *Avi* (Trivandrum Ed., p. 13), and the king is spoken of as *satkṛtabhāravāhi* in the *Prat* (VII. 11); *tasmācca tadbhāravat* in the *Yaj* (II. 27) can be compared with these statements. "*Niskramya praviśya*", which has been observed as a feature of Bhāsa³ is found also in the *Yaj* (pp. 31, 55). The similes wherein are brought *dvipa*, *kesarī* in the *Yaj*, as also the expression that age has nothing to do with valour, recall similar ones from the other Bhāsa plays.⁴

In one stanza attributed to Bhāsa which must have come from him,⁵ there is a reference to मुनेरिव चित्तमन्तः, with which may be compared *Yaj* (V. 36).

The simile relating to Vedic lore (*Yaj*, V. 9) is in common with similar ones employed in the *Pañc*, especially with the *Avi*, V. 1.

The descriptions of the hermitage, evening, pastoral life, etc., compare favourably with those in the *Svapna*, *Pañc*, *Avi* and *Bālacarita* (*Bāl*). Rāma's love-lorn condition in the *Yaj* (Act VI) is similar to that stated in connection with *Avimāraka* (*Avi*, Act II).

For narrating events or describing battles, duels, etc., Bhāsa selects the narrators, generally triads, from amongst the Brāhmaṇas, warriors or fairies.⁶ In the *Yaj*, we find three Brāhmaṇa disciples (Act V), two fairies (Act III), four palace singers (Act IV) and three warriors (Act VI) employed for narrating events.

¹ Cf. PISHAROTI, *Bull. Sch. Or. St.*, VI, pp. 819-821; Hirananda SASTRI, *Bhāsa and the Authorship of the Thirteen Trivandrum Plays*, pp. 4-8; DEVADHAR, *Plays ascribed to Bhāsa*, pp. 42-44, etc.

² Cf. *Pañc*, I. 24, 25; *Avi*, I. 2, VI. 19; *Kaṇa*, 17, 22.

³ Cf. *Bhāsa—A Study*, p. 7.

⁴ Cf. *Yaj*, VI. 31 with *Bāl*, VI. 13; *Abh*, VI. 11; *Yaj*, III. 23 and VII. 13 with *Bāl*, III. 9, 10. The idea that a donor feels pleased to confer a gift on a proper person is found in *Yaj*, III. 13 and *Avi*, IV. 14.

⁵ Cf. *Bhāsa—A Study*, pp. 44-45. The stanza is:

तीक्ष्णं रविस्तपति नीच इवाचिरादयः

शृङ्गं रुस्त्यजति मित्रमिवाकृतज्ञः ।

तोयं प्रसीदति मुनेरिव चित्तमन्तः

कामी दरिद्र इव शोषमुपैति पङ्कः ॥

⁶ Cf. *Bhāsa—A Study*, p. 7.

(कर्णे) एवमिव, found on p. 193 of the *Yaj*, is to be met with also in the *Svapna* (p. 89), *Pratijñā* (Trivandrum, 1912 Ed., pp. 17, 71) and *Cārudatta* (Trivandrum, 1914 Ed., pp. 38, 76).

Split-up verses, which has been observed as a feature of the metrical portion of the Bhāsa plays,¹ are found in *Yaj*, II. 29; III. 21, 23, 24; IV. 29.

Vijayā is the name of Pratihārī in the *Yaj*, in common with the *Svapna*, *Prat*, *Pratijñā* and *Abhiṣeka*.

Hitherto, two dramas by Bhāsa on Rāma's life, viz., the *Prat* and *Abhiṣeka*, were available, which dealt with Rāma's life after his marriage; it is quite within the realm of probability that he may have written a third drama on Rāma's life prior to his marriage, in order to complete his cycle of the Rāma dramas.

The well-known statement of Bāṇa with regard to the Bhāsa dramas:

सूत्रधारकृतारम्भैर्नाटकैर्बहुभूमिकैः ।

सपताकैर्यशो लेभे भासो देवकुलैरिव ॥

i.e., that Bhāsa's dramas are सूत्रधारकृतारम्भ, बहुभूमिक, सपताक and holy like temples, has already been shown by us to apply to the thirteen Bhāsa plays²; the statement is applicable to the *Yaj* also. That it is सूत्रधारकृतारम्भ is seen from the *sthāpanā* of the play itself. The number of characters is 45 (excluding ministers and servants in Janaka's retinue), which is no doubt large, and they come from various walks of life (बहुविधभूमिक). There are many secondary episodes (*patākās*) such as Daśaratha's conference with the queens, Rāvaṇa's foiling the *astras* of Rāma, Viśvāmitra's sacrifice, etc., as also a number of interludes, which make the drama *sapatāka*. The *Yaj* is full of holy, sublime atmosphere comparable to temples (देवकुलैरिव) and hence on the testimony of Bāṇa also, it is entitled to be included in the Bhāsa dramas.

Jayadeva in his *Prasannarāghava* calls Bhāsa "the laughter of Poetry" (भासो हासः), and the statement has been found to be applicable to the Bhāsa dramas.³ With regard to the *Yaj*, it may be observed that the scenes in which Vidūṣaka (Acts I, IV) and the palace singers (Act IV) appear, supply us with an amount of humour and conform to Jayadeva's description.

In connection with the relationship of Bhāsa and Kālidāsa, it is shown that Kālidāsa uses many ideas and expressions from Bhāsa, and presents them in quite a different garb, though strict proof of indebtedness is not possible.⁴ The *Yaj* also furnishes us

¹ *Bhāsa—A Study*, p. 16, and App. IV.

² *Bhāsa—A Study*, pp. 37-42.

³ Cf. *Bhāsa—A Study*, p. 43.

⁴ Cf. KEITH, *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 124.

with germs of some of the ideas, which are echoed in the works of Kālidāsa.¹

The *subhāṣitas* in the *Yaj* compare favourably with those found in the other works of Bhāsa. We append here only a few of the *subhāṣitas* from the *Yaj*:

वैतण्डिका न शाम्यन्ति हेतुभिः । (p. 9).

अनागतं भावि च विप्रकृष्टं

यश्चिन्तयेत्तस्य भवेन्न कष्टम् ।

प्राप्ते विषादे तु कृतं स्मरेद्यः

सुखं न तस्यास्ति नरस्य नूनम् ॥ II. 12.

काले सर्वं सुखावहम् । II. 24d.

भिन्ना लोके रुचिश्च । II. 35b.

यज्ञं दानं तपश्चैव कार्यं सर्वेण सर्वदा । IV. 39a.

सच्चं वञ्चणं ण अधिकखेवो भोदि । (p. 143).

अबोधहतबुद्धयो न शाम्यन्ति हेतुभिः । (p. 145).

ज्ञात्वोद्दिश्य नरा लाभं कर्मोत्साहेन कुर्वते ।

अनुद्दिश्य फलं कार्यं यत्तत्रास्त्येव मन्दता ॥ V. 51.

श्रमेणाप्तं यत्तत्त्यजति मनुजो नैव हि वृथा ॥ V. 52d.

न सन्दिग्धफलं श्रमं मतिमान् कुर्यात् । (p. 176).

व्यापार एवास्ति विधेरचिन्त्यः । V. 21d.

Felicity of expression, pure, simple, chaste style, unimpeded flow of the language, fine simple similes and other simple figures of speech,—are on a par with the other Bhāsa dramas, and proclaim the antiquity of the piece. There is absolutely no effort by the poet at artificiality, and a total absence of the so-called poetic conventions which came into vogue later on; everything appears so natural that there is an atmosphere of pre-classical age. Sanskrit appears to be a living language being employed in everyday conversation. Simplicity and purity appear to be the keynotes of the play both in the matter and manner of the *Yaj*.

In my "*Bhāsa—A Study*", I have attempted to arrange the chronological order of the works of Bhāsa basing my conclusions on the language and thought evidence, the psychological aspect of the works, and on the consideration of the dialogues, verses, poetic licences and weak endings.² Judging from these tests as

¹ Cf. *Yaj*, I. 9 with *Raghu*, V. 13; *Yaj*, II. 41 with *Sākuntala*, II. 18; *Yaj*, III. 38-39 with *Sākuntala*, I. 10-11; *Yaj*, V. 14 with *Sākuntala*, VII. 4; etc.

² Pp. 118-122, and the table on p. 119.

also from the general impression created by the play, the *Yajña-phalam* can be placed to the third or the mature period of the poet's career, it being written some time between the composition of the *Prat* and the *Pratijñā*. The proportion of *ślokas* to the total number of verses is 48% and of dialogues to verses is 39.5%. It may be noted that the *Yaj* has the largest number of stanzas and dialogues of all the works of Bhāsa.

With regard to the mention of the *Yogaśāstra* of Patañjali in the *Yaj* (p. 116) which may be taken as indicating a late date for the play, the learned SASTRI has observed in the introduction (pp. 5-6) that the *Yogaśāstra* can be said to be an old science, prior to Brahmasūtrakāra Vyāsa, possibly prior to Daśaratha also. In this connection, I have to state my views regarding the dates of Patañjali and similar authors. Though dates have been fixed by scholars in the case of these authors, it is to be noted that the *Yogaśāstra* and similar old works enjoyed veneration and antiquity and whenever we have to deal with these works we have to take into account the traditional view with regard to their dates and origin, as the later authors or dramatists who mentioned these works intended them to be placed in the traditionally accepted period and not the one we have assigned them by our critical comparative method and research.

Among features of antiquity of the play may be mentioned its reference to the *Ācāraśāstra* of Manu (pp. 41, 116), *Rājadharmasāstra* of Vasiṣṭha (pp. 42, 116) containing 24 topics of law, *Yogaśāstra* of Patañjali (p. 116), *Nyāyasāstra* of Medhātithi (p. 116) in common with the *Prat* (p. 99), and *Mīmāṃsāsāstra* of Kāśakṛtsna (p. 116). All these, no doubt, appear to be old *śāstras*. None of these works is available, and the problem needs further study. There is a reference to *suvarṇa* as a generic term instead of to coins (p. 7). These features support the antiquity in assigning the authorship to Bhāsa.

Reference has already been made to the other Rāma-dramas of Bhāsa. On account of the absence of one quotation from a *Bālacarita Nāṭaka* in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* in the present *Bālacarita* of Bhāsa which deals with the early life of Kṛṣṇa, and on the strength of some commentators it was surmised by MM. Dr. T. Ganapati SASTRI and others that the quotation was from another drama named *Bālacarita* by Bhāsa concerning Rāma's early life. In an article contributed to the *Kane Festschrift* (pp. 339-344) I have examined the problem of the *Bālacarita* and have come to the conclusion that there is only one *Bālacarita* as published in the Trivandrum SS., and that the quotation may find a suitable context in the present *Bālacarita*. The discovery of the *Yaj* does not affect my conclusions. It is quite natural that Bhāsa wrote a play dealing with Rāma's early life prior to marriage, and it is quite conceivable that the title of the play may be distinct from the *Bālacarita*.

The *Yaj* (p. 132) contains one line from the Bhāsa stanza quoted in the *Abhinavabhāratī*.¹ I have indicated a suitable context for the stanza in the *Abhiṣeka*.² It seems probable that the poet repeated a line from the *Abhiṣeka*, his earlier work, in the *Yaj*; otherwise the occurrence of a single line in the *Yaj* out of the whole stanza cannot be satisfactorily explained.

The learned editor suggests that he has traced some of the stanzas contained in the anthologies to the *Yaj*; but he has not mentioned the stanzas. So far as I know, the number of stanzas ascribed to Bhāsa by anthologists is 15,³ and none of them appears in the *Yaj*. I have not yet been able to refer to anthologies such as the *Sārṅgdharapaddhati*, *Saduktikarnāmṛta*, *Sūktimuktāvali*, *Subhāṣitāvali*, etc., to find out whether any of the stanzas occurring in the *Yaj* are quoted in them.⁴

¹ Cf. *Bhāsa—A Study*, p. 45. The stanza is:

त्रेतायुगं * * * तद्धि न मैथिली सा
रामस्य रागपदवी मृदु चास्य चेतः ।
लब्धा जनस्तु यदि रावणमस्य कायं
प्रोक्तुष्य तन्न तिलशो न वितृप्तिगामी ॥

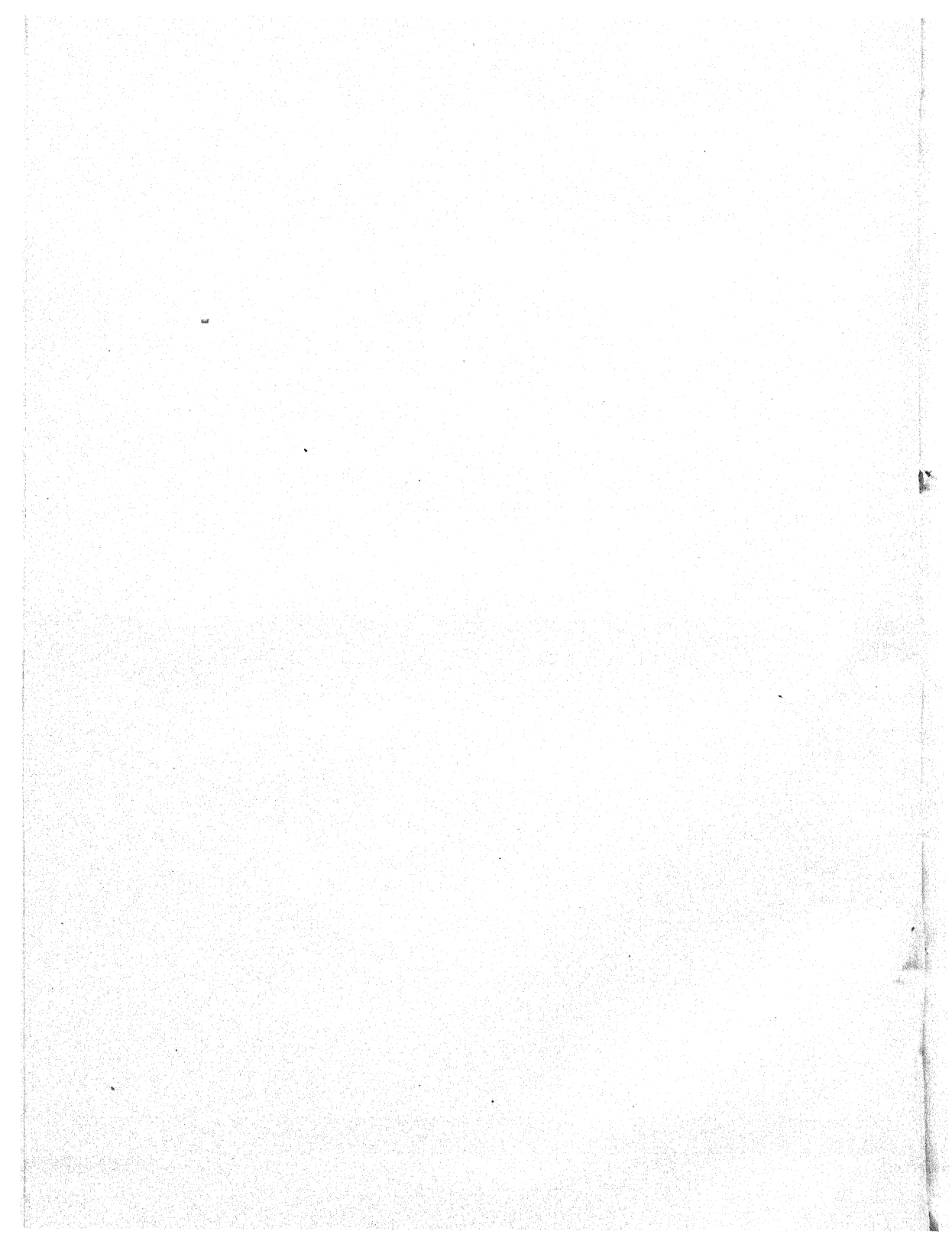
The line quoted in the *Yaj* (IV. 40b) is:

रामस्य रागपदवी मृदु चैव चेतः ।

² *Indian Culture*, IV, pp. 522-525.

³ They have been given in App. III of *Bhāsa—A Study*.

⁴ I must record here that I am highly obliged to my revered friend Prof. H. D. VELANKAR for drawing my attention to the publication of the *Yajñaphalam* and suggesting that I should write a paper on the subject. My obligations are also due to Rajavaidya Jivaram Kalidasa SASTRI for sending me a complimentary copy of the *Yajñaphalam*. I have purposely ignored the Prakrit evidence as it has been found unsafe to base any chronological or literary conclusions on the data supplied by the Prakrit of the Bhāsa plays, the MSS. being quite unreliable in that respect.



THE MAJMŪ'A-I-RĀZ OF MĪR MUḤAMMAD ŠĀLIḤ
KASHFĪ

Edited with an Introduction and English Translation

By SHAIKH CHAND ḤUSAIN

INTRODUCTION

In the following pages is published for the first time the text with an English translation of *Kashfī's Majmū'a-i-Rāz*, a Persian mystical poem, which I trust will be found interesting to students of Persian Sūfīism. The poem abounds in verses which possess a quality of their own. The language is simple, unambiguous and free from verbosity.

The author of the poem, Mīr Muḥammad Šālīḥ, poetically called *Kashfī*, son of Mīr 'Abdu'llāh Mushkīn Qalam, and a descendant of the famous Shāh Ni'matu'llāh Walī Kūhistānī¹ (b. about A.D. 1330-31, d. April 1431) who enjoys, both in Persia and India, the reputation as a great saint and mystic. In India he is famous for a poem (Qaṣida) containing his prophecies (*Pishingū'ī*). He lived during the time of Shāh Rukh Mīrzā (d. A.D. 1447), who held him in high honour.² Shāh Ni'matu'llāh founded an order of Darwishes, which is known as *Ni'matu'llāhī*. His tomb is situated in the "charming village of Māhān" near Kirmān, and has been the object of pilgrimage (*ziyāratgāh*) of thousands of darwishes of the Ni'matu'llāhī order.³

Shāh Ni'matu'llāh Walī, who was also a poet and a prolific writer, is reported to have been the author of no less than 500 treatises of which more than one hundred have come down to us.⁴ He adopted *Sayyid* as his takhalluṣ in poetry. His diwān displays "true poetry" and sincere feeling, which are wanting in many of the mystic poets of the day. Some of his grandsons, e.g. Mīrzā Ḥabību'llāh,⁵ came to India and were appointed to high posts

¹ For a detailed account of this saint, see *Ency. of Islām*, iii, p. 922; also *Tadhkira-i-Mir'atu'l-Khīyāl* (lith. Bombay, A.H. 1324), pp. 40-41.

² Browne, *Persian Literature under the Tartar Dominion*, p. 463.

³ Berthels, article in the *Ency. of Islām*, iii, p. 922.

⁴ *Ibid.*; Browne, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Mīrzā Ḥabību'llāh, the grandson of Shāh Ni'matu'llāh Walī, occupied a prominent place under the Bahmanids of the Deccan.

In the latter part of Shāh 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Bahmanī's reign Mīrzā Ḥabību'llāh was cast in prison, but Yūsuf Turk liberated him from his captivity and with a huge force composed of Mīrzā Ḥabību'llāh's disciples marched on the city of Bīr. The king immediately dispatched his forces in

under 'Alā'ud-Dīn Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī (A.D. 1435-1457) of the Deccan.

Our poet's father Mir 'Abdu'llāh, who was an excellent poet and an elegant calligraphist who excelled in seven styles of writing, most probably received the title of Mushkin Qalam¹ from the Mughal emperor Akbar for having made in elegant hand copies of the Persian translation of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Sikandar Nāma*, *Ta'rikh-i-Tīmūrī* and others.² He also received from Akbar the takhalluṣ of *Wasfī*.³ He is the author of five *mathnawīs* and a *dīwān*.

their pursuit and in a battle that ensued he was killed. A poet by name Tāhīr composed the following chronogram of his death:—

مه شعبان شهادت یافت در هند حبیب الله غازی طاب مخواه
روان طاهرش تاریخ می جست برآمد روح پاکش از رخ پاک

Burhān-i-Ma'āthir, pp. 92-94.

¹ There is a difference of opinion about Mir 'Abdu'llāh's receiving the title Mushkin Qalam. Rieu (*Cat.*, i, 154), Ghulām Muhammad (*Tadhkirah-i-Khushnawīsān*, ed. Hidāyat Husain, Calcutta, 1910, p. 101 fn.), M. 'Abdu'l-Muqtadir (*Cat. Raisonné of the Bāhār Library*, i, No. 29) consider this title to have been conferred upon him by Akbar, while Beale (*An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, ed. Keene, 1894, p. 209), Blochmann (*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1874, p. 162), and the author of the *Mir'at'u'l-'Ālam* (MS. No. 1160 of the Āsāfiya State Library, Hyderabad, Deccan, folio 407b) say that it was conferred by Jahāngīr. There is, however, no doubt that Mir 'Abdu'llāh also held an honoured post under Jahāngīr, for on the tomb of Shāh Begum (wife of Jahāngīr, mother of Khusrāw and daughter of Rāja Bhagwāndās), in the Khusrāw Bāgh at Allāhabād, there is the following inscription written by Mir 'Abdu'llāh Mushkin Qalam who calls himself Jahāngīr Shāhī:—

چون چرخ فلک ز گردش خود آشفست در زیر زمین آئینه مهر نهفت
تاریخ وفات شاه بیگم جستم از غیب ملک د بخلا شد بیگم ، گفت
کاتبه عبد الله مشکین قلم جهانگیر شاهی

(For details of this inscription, see *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, pp. 597-609.) Besides, on the column of a Pillar of Allāhabād Fort there is a genealogical inscription, also written by Mir 'Abdu'llāh Mushkin Qalam in A.H. 1014, the very first year of Jahāngīr's reign, which celebrates the emperor Jahāngīr's Coronation (I owe this information to my friend and colleague Dr. M. A. Chaghātā'i, D.Litt.)

² I am indebted for this to Shamsu'l-'Ulamā' M. A. Ghanī, M.A., M.Litt., who has also kindly supplied me with a good deal of information regarding *Kashfī*.

³ Vide his own statement:—

وصفی تخلص من و مشکین قلم خطاب این نامها ز شاه و شهنشاه یافتم
(*Mir'at'u'l-'Ālam*, MS. fol. 407b.)

He died in India in 1025¹/1615-16 and lies buried in the mausoleum built² by his son, our poet *Kashfī*, near Nagla Jawāhir at Āgra. Specimens of his calligraphy are preserved in the India Office Library, the British Museum and Śīr Sālār Sālār Jang Bahādūr's magnificent *Mughlā'i Library* at Hyderabad-Deccan.

Mīr 'Abdu'llāh left two sons, our poet *Kashfī* and Mīr Muḥammad Mu'min who adopted '*Arshī*'³ as his *nomme de guerre* in poetry,—both of whom held high posts at the Mughal court. Mīr '*Arshī*' was a calligraphist, a poet and master of Indian classical music. Both Hindū and Muslim singers of established reputation deemed it an honour to be called the disciples of these two brothers.⁴ Mīr Muḥammad Mu'min '*Arshī*' died in 1091/1680. According to Beale (*loc. cit.*, p. 79), '*Arshī*' was the author of (i) a *Diwān* of poems, (ii) *Shāhid-i-'Arshī*, a mathnawī and *Mīhr-u-Wafā*, a mathnawī, written in imitation of Nizāmī's *Khusraw wa Shīrīn*.

His brother, our poet *Kashfī*, was a calligraphist of reputation, a mystic and a musician. In Persian poetry he adopted *Kashfī* as his takhalluṣ, but in Hindī, *Subhān*.⁵ He led the major part of

¹ According to Rieu (*Cat.*, i, p. 154) and Ghulām M'd. (*Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, p. 101 fn.), Mīr 'Abdu'llāh died in A.H. 1025, but Beale (*loc. cit.*, p. 9), M. 'Abdu'l-Muqtadir (*Mīr'atū'l-'Ālam*, fol. 407b) and others give A.H. 1035 as the year of his death. The former is confirmed by the following inscription on the wall inside his mausoleum at Nagla Jawāhir, Āgra, composed as well as carved by his son, our poet *Kashfī*:—

شیخ زمانه مظهر انوار جاودان کر خواجگان چشت یکی بن نشانه بود
دریای جود و کان سخا قلب وقت میر عبد الله آنکه در همه فنہا یگانه بود
کشفی سوال کرد ز تاریخ رحلتش ہم خود جواب داد کہ شیخ زمانه بود
A.H. 1025/1615-16.

² The mausoleum and the mosque of Mīr 'Abdu'llāh Tirmidhī Mushkin Qalam were completed in A.H. 1035 as is recorded by the inscription to be found on the outside of the mosque:—

کشفیا سر بر این جناب بنہ کہ ازین باب کس نہ شد نوید
گرد این روضہ روز و شب گردان چرخ با انیم و مه و خورشید
سال اتمام این مکان شریف
ہاتنی گفت «روضہ جاوید»

(For English translation of these, please see *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1874, pp. 162-163.)

³ '*Arshī*' was instructor in penmanship to the prince Sulaimān (Dārā) Shukoh (*Mīr'atū'l-'Ālam*, MS. fol. 408a); also Rieu (*Cat.*, i, 154); Beale (*loc. cit.*, p. 79); *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, p. 101 and others.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ '*Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, iii, p. 444.

his life as a Chishtī Ni'matu'llāhī Sūfī,¹ but later on the emperor Shāh Jahān, who admired him, persuaded him to take up the post of a calligraphist at his court.² The earliest mention of *Kashfī* in the chronicles of the period comes in the year 1054/1644, when on the 1st of Shawwāl he was granted in *In'ām* a female elephant³ by the emperor; in the year 1055/1645 *Kashfī* further received a reward of rupees one thousand⁴; on the occasion of the جشن وزن قری of the year 1056/1646-47 he was appointed to the post of the Keeper of the Imperial Library⁵ owing to the transfer of the calligraphist *Rashidā*⁶; on 22nd of Jumādā II of the same year *Kashfī* was awarded 200 gold mohrs⁷; and finally, on the occasion of جشن وزن قری of the year 1057/1647 he was promoted to a higher *Manṣīb*.⁸ According to the '*Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, *Kashfī*⁹ enjoyed the *Manṣīb* of صد سوار. His death is recorded in the above work¹⁰ to have taken place in the 24th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, on the 14th of Sha'bān 1061/1651. He lies buried outside the mausoleum of his father in a tomb which was built by himself. The inscription to be found on his tomb is quoted elsewhere.

Specimens of *Kashfī*'s calligraphy¹¹ are not rare; e.g. there is a work (in *MS.*) in Sir Sālār Jang's magnificent library at Hyderabad-Deccan which bears his signature 'محمد صالح کشنی'; also in Europe,

¹ That Mir Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ *Kashfī* was a Ni'matu'llāhī Sūfī is clear from the chronogram of his death:—

میر صالح که اهل عرفان بود صاحب کشف راز یزدان بود
ذات پاکش که از حق آگاه است لمعه نور نعمت الله است
عقل تاریخ آن ستوده نژاد
گفت کشنی بخلد آب بداد

and that he belonged to the Chishtī order is also clear from the inscription given in footnote 1, p. 33.

² *Mir'atū'l-'Ālam*, MS. fol. 407b; *Tadhkira-i-Gul-i-Ra'nā*, MS. in the Mughlā'i Library of Sir Sālār Jung Bahādur of Hyderabad (Dn.), No. 5813.

³ 'Abdu'l-Ḥamid Lāhūrī, *Bādshāh Nāma*, ii, p. 393.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 414.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 505.

⁶ For details about him, see '*Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, iii, pp. 443-444 and *Tadhkira-i-Khushnavīsān*, pp. 95-98.

⁷ *Bādshāh Nāma*, ii, p. 555.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 679.

⁹ Vol. iii, p. 444. Shamsu'l-'Ulamā' Prof. M. A. Ghani says that *Kashfī*'s "official rank was that of *Mushīr*, and the Emperor addressed him as *Amīr*, as has been noticed in the *Farāmīn-i-Shāhī* issued under the seal of the Emperor from time to time".

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

¹¹ *Kashfī* is conscious of his merits as a poet and a calligrapher and says:—

کشنی ز تو شعر و خط بماند تا روز ابد نشان بکافد

Majmū'a-i-Rāz, fol. 13b.

e.g. India Office Library, 29, *Johnson's Book*, fol. 11, copied by Mīr Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ in A.H. 1033.

Kashfī was master of both prose and poetry. Of his works the following have come down to us:—

1. *MAJMU' A-I-RĀZ*, a *Tarjī'band* finished in 1030/1621, treats of mysticism in the most lyrical manner. The poem was lithographed at Lucknow, but is now gone out of print. *MSS.* of this poem are not rare; Rieu (*Catalogue*, ii, 737) mentions a copy of this in a bound volume; Sprenger (*Oudh Catalogue*, p. 456) describes another *MS.* which contains this poem. In a small bound volume kindly placed before me by Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewalla, Director of the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona, there is given at folios 11b to 23a this poem. My edition of this poem is entirely based upon this *MS.* as I have at present no access to the *MSS.* mentioned above or to the lithographed edition.
2. *MANĀQIB-I-MURTADAWĪ*, a work dealing with the biography, miracles, heroism, acts of benevolence, qualities, etc. of Ḥaḍrat 'Alī, the 4th *Khalīfa*; it is written in mixed prose and poetry. This work must have been composed after the *Majmū'a-i-Rāz*, for there is mention of it in the body of the work (Bombay, lith. 1321, page 121). Manuscripts of this work are not rare; see Rieu, *Catalogue*, i, 154, 1081; *Morley*, 16; *Būhār Lib.*, No. 28; *Bankipore Lib.*, 494-495. A *MS.* of this, written in elegant hand, is to be found in the Ḥājji Dāmin 'Alī's Trust Library, Shāh Gunj, Āgra. The *Manāqib-i-Murtadawī* was lithographed at Bombay in A.H. 1321 as also at Tīhrān.
3. *I'JĀZ-I-MUṢṬAFAWĪ*, a biography of the Prophet written after, and in the manner of, the above (see Rieu, *Cat.*, i, 154). *MSS.* of this are not rare; see Rieu, *Catalogue*, i, 154; a fine copy of the work is preserved in the Jāmi' Masjid, Āgra. It is said that the book was also lithographed either in India or Īrān, but I have not been able to procure a copy of it.
4. A *DĪWĀN* of Qaṣīdas, Ghazals, Rubā'iyāt, Mathnawīs, etc. not known to have been printed. Sprenger speaks of a *Dīwān* of *Kashfī* then existing in the Motī Maḥal Library (*Oudh Cat.*, p. 456). In his *Report of the Researches into the Muhammadan Libraries of Lucknow* (Calcutta, 1896), p. 15, Sprenger also mentions a *Dīwān* of *Kashfī*.
5. In addition to the above works *Kashfī* is also the author of a *Treatise on Music*. A *MS.* copy of this is to be found in the Muḥammadīyya Library, Āgra.

The late Mr. Nādirshāh's *MS.*, kindly placed at my disposal by Dr. Taraporevalla, and on which this edition of the *Majmū'a-i-Rāz* is based, contains a large number of poems, prose pieces, etc. It is neatly written in a beautiful *Shikasta* hand; the *Majmū'a-i-Rāz* is transcribed uniformly by one named Khurshīd walad Edal. I append to this edition photographic reproduction of a few pages to give the reader an idea of it. The copy possesses a number of spelling mistakes and also shows that the copyist forgot at places to insert the stroke verse. Worst of all a number of verses are evidently missing from this *MS.*, for, Beale (*loc. cit.*) says that the poem contains 270 verses, while the *MS.* of the late Mr. Nādirshāh has the concluding verses of the third and the opening verses of the fourth stanza missing. I have accordingly pointed out the absence of these at their proper places.

From what I read of the poetry of *Kashfī*, I have no doubt that it is steeped in Sūfīism and is marked by a simplicity which I consider to be a merit. The poem treats of Islāmic mysticism in the most lyrical manner, while some of its verses are remarkable for the fervour with which *Kashfī* exposes Sūfīistic Reality.

One of the peculiarities of the poem is that its stanzas have as their rhyme most of the letters of the alphabet, e.g. stanza One has 'ا' as its rhyme, stanza Two, 'ب', and so on. This helps a good deal in placing the stanzas in their proper order of sequence. The

metre employed is بحر هزج مسدس اخرب مقبوض محذوف.

|| _ _ _ | _ _ _ | _ _ _ ||

In the end I must thank my tutor Khān Bahādūr Professor Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qādir Sarfarāz, M.A., I.E.S. (Retd.), without whose valuable help this edition would not have been possible. I have also to thank Dr. I. J. S. Taraporevalla for allowing me to edit this poem from the Manuscript of the late Mr. Nādirshāh.

« مجموعه راز »

من تصانیف مولنا میر محمد صالح کشفی

بسعی

شیخ چاند حسین عفی عنهما

مجموعه راز

ای دوست بعاشقان شیدا	بنای جمال عالم آرا
ای از تو شده ظهور کونین	اسرار نهان بتو هویدا
بهر تو زمین نشسته برآب	بهر تو فلک ستاده برپا
از نور تو روز و شب منور	عکس تو ز مهر و ماه پیدا
اندر طلب تو چرخ در گرد	حیران تو مانده قطب برجا
برده است جمال روی یوسف	آتش ز تو در دل زلیخا
خود آئینه جمال گشتی	خود چشم شدی و خود تماشا
«آرنی» گفتی و «کن ترانی»	هم طور شدی و هم تجلا
بس بو العجبی چه گویم از تو	هم کام توئی و هم تمنا
وصف تو چه سان به شرح آرم	کز فکرت من بود میرا
دل بی تو مدام باد پیما ست	با دل شوی ار تو باده پیما

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بنشینم و جام عشق نوشم

کونین به جرعه فروشم

چون روح دمید حق به قالب	عشق آمد و شد بجان مرگب
از روز ازل چو عشق با جانست	زانروی بحق است جای مقرب
جز عشق دلم نخواهد حرفی	چون روز نخست شد بمکتب
نی کفر گزینم و نه اسلام	جز عشق مرا نه دین نه مذهب

نی وصل شناسم و نه هجران چون نیست و رای عشق مطلب
 سیاب صفت ز جوش عشقم نی روز تسلی است نه شب
 از بادۀ نور عشق کشفی گر ساغر دل شود لبالب
 بنشینم و جام عشق نوشم¹

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کونین به جرعه فروشم

دیدم همه جا ظهور عشق است در ذره و مهر نور عشق است
 چشمان بتان که مست نازند حقاً اثر غرور عشق است
 عاشق که ز درد هجر محزونست دردش همگی حضور عشق است
 زهار مشو ز غم حزن دل غم آئینه سرور عشق است
 جن و ملک و پری و آدم در جمله عیان ظهور عشق است
 صد شعله برآید از زبانم گوئی که درون تنور عشق است
 هر لمحہ به دل تجلیات است دل موسی و سینه طور عشق است
 ای آنکه تو طالب بهشتی میدان یکی از قصور عشق است
 کشفی که مدام در خروش است بیخود ز می طهور عشق است
 ابیات نکو که دمدم دل گوید، همه از شعور عشق است
 از ماه گرفته تا بماهی فی الجمله ظهور نور عشق است
 من کی² نگرم به دین و دنیا ساقی دلم چو حور عشق است³

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¹ The copyist of the MS. has left this much space blank.

² The MS. has گر.

³ Evidently some of the verses from the above two stanzas have been left out by the copyist. Not only that, but in all probability one complete ode, having 'ج' as its Radīf, has been left out.—C. H. S.

آتش به دل همه در افتاد
 چه طفل و چه شیخ و شاب زان رُخ
 هرگز به کسی نه کردم اظهار
 شد گرچه دلم کباب زان رُخ
 وین طرفه که آتش است اما
 دیدم که چکید آب زان رخ
 استاده در انتظار و صلم
 گر دور شود نقاب زان رخ

بنشینم و جام عشق نوشم
 کونین به جرعه فروشم

وصف رُخت از بشر نیاید مثلث به جهان دگر نیاید
 چون کرده رخ تو جلوه هر سوی جز روی تو در نظر نیاید
 جز فتنه و ناز هیچ وقتی از نخل قدت ثمر نیاید
 بار غم عشق تو کشیدن از یک دل و یک جگر نیاید
 در عشق تو جان و دل سپردم از ما بجز این هنر نیاید
 گم گشته‌ام آنچنان به عشقت کز خویشتم خبر نیاید
 زاهد نه نهی قدم به کویش دانم ز تو ترک سر نیاید
 حقا ره کعبه محبت تا سر نه رود بسر نیاید
 عشق و خرد و سخا و جرأت¹ این جمله بزور و زر نیاید

40

¹ The MS. has جرعت.

من زنده به انتظار و سلم میرم مه من اگر نیاید
آن مستِ آلتِ جامِ عشقم از من عملی دگر نیاید

بنشینیم و جامِ عشق نوشم¹

کونین به جرعه فروشم

50 همراز چنان شدم به کاغذ کاسرار دلم عیان بکاغذ
چون محرم عاشق است و معشوق دل باد فدا و جان بکاغذ
رشد مه چارده توان گفت تصویر رخ بتان بکاغذ
کشتی ز تو شعر و خط بماناد تا روز ابد نشان بکاغذ
شد ماه دو هفته گر نهفته از آن خبری ازان بکاغذ

بنشینیم و جامِ عشق نوشم

کونین به جرعه فروشم

ای دل نفسی ز فرع بگذر و آنگه رخ ذات اصل بنگر
از فرع چو بگذری بدانی خود اصل تویی بهانه دیگر
مستغرق خویش باش دایم زهار به سوی غیر منگر
صد ماه رخ اندرنت پیدا است هر یک ز جمال مهر بهتر
60 در تست هر آنچه خواهی از غیر ای وصفِ تو از خیال برتر
هم جام جهان نمای غیبی هم آئینه و هم سکندر
حقاً که تو شاه هر دو کونی تاگی باشی گدای هر در
بنشین و حواس خمس ببرند در حبس نفس² مَشُو مَکْدَر

¹ The MS. has صبر پیش گیرم.

² حبس دم. Retention of the breath, which some mystics practise for a very long time, believing thereby to prolong life.

تا هر نفست بتو نماید صد یوسف آفتاب پیکر
 یک لمحہ بچشم معرفت بین خورشید به ذرہ است همسر
 ای آنکہ محیط کائناتی من ذرہ ام و ز ذرہ کمتر
 من شیفۃ جمال رویت من بندہ تویی خدای اکبر
 خون می خورم از غم فراق و وصل تو گرم شود میسر
 بنشینم و جام عشق نوشم
 کونین به جرعه فروشم

70 دیدم رُخ آن نگار طَناز کز سایه او عیانست¹ اعجاز
 من چون همه تن نیاز گشتم رو کرد به سوی من بصد ناز
 فرمود کہ ای خراب اندوه خواهی کہ شوی بمن تو همراز
 زنهار به عافیت مکن خوی میسوز به نارِ درد و میساز
 هر موی من آمدست در رقص ای مطرب عشق نغمه آغاز
 دل گفت ز جوش عشق انا الحق جان کرد بیان خویش دل راز
 خواهم کہ نهان کنم غمِ دل فاش ار نه شود ز اشک غماز
 مژگان تو زد خدنگ غمزه مرغِ دلِ من چو کرده پرواز
 گر خاکِ درِ خودم بخوانی زین نخر شوم به دهر ممتاز
 ای رونق حسن ماه رویان یکدم شوی ار بمن تو دمساز

بنشینم و جام عشق نوشم
 کونین به جرعه فروشم

¹ The MS. has عیانست.

با جان من است یار مؤنس با دل شده غمگسار مؤنس
 آرام ز دل شد است تا شد با عشق تو ای نگار مؤنس
 تا وعده وصل دادی ای جان با دل شده انتظار مؤنس
 در حجر تو ای نگار ما را شد گریه زار زار مؤنس
 ای دوست تو بارقیب منشین حیف است گلی بخار مؤنس
 دانی چکنم اگر بگردد کشفی بمن آن نگار مؤنس

بنشینم و جام عشق نوشم

کونین بجرعه فروشم

ای آمده همچو جان در آغوش شد ز آمدنت جهان فراموش
 چون لب به لبم نهادی از لطف جان گفت بگوش دل که می نوش
 تا نرگس مست خود نمودی گشتم ز شراب عشوه مدهوش
 چون روی تو در نظر درآمد جز روی تو جمله شد فراموش
 یک ذره نمی توان نگهداشت جز بار محبت تو بردوش
 دل را نبود هوای شاهی تا حلقه بندگیست در گوش
 صد دفتر وعظ واعظ ار خواند دیوانه عشق کی کند گوش
 وعظش چو خسی است و عشق شعله هرگز نه شد است شعله خس پوش
 زاهد چه بزند خویش نازی کاینجا نخرند زهد مفروش
 نی زهد شناسم و نه تقوی تا باده عشق کرده مدهوش
 در آرزوی تو رفت عزمم ای مه شبی آئی ار در آغوش

بنشینم و جام عشق نوشم

کونین به جرعه فروشم

100 دل از معی عشق هست در رقص جانم شده نیز مست در رقص
 بر هرکه فتاد سایه عشق تا سایه او شد است در رقص
 از شوق جمال لایزالست بتخانه و بت پرست در رقص
 نی نام و نشان خویش دانم نی پا و نه سر نه دست در رقص
 تا مطرب عشق نغمه پرداخت شد ذره و مهر مست در رقص
 در مجلس دوست گشفی امشب¹ چون شیشه و ساغر است در رقص

بنشینم و جام عشق نوشم

کونین به جرعه فروشم

110 از عشق رسید چون بجان فیض تا چند کنم بجان نهان فیض
 معمور شدم ز فیض چندانکه بردند ز من فرشتگان فیض
 گردونست فدای من شب و روز خواهد که برد نصیب ازان فیض
 فیضی که همای لامکان بود کرد است مکان بجانم آن فیض
 کونین شود چو مهر یکسر یک ذره نمایم ار ازان فیض
 وقتی ست که بر سریر همت بنشسته نهم به انس و جان فیض
 آرید جهانیان بمن روی خواهید اگر جهان جهان فیض
 بر کوری² جمل خویش گرید هر کوبه رخم نه بیند آن فیض
 عابد تو که عاشق جنانی برده است ز سایه ام جان فیض
 من موی بموی کان فیضم چون کرد بجان من مکان فیض

بنشینم و جام عشق نوشم

کونین بجرعه فروشم

¹ The MS. has گشفی است شب.

² The MS. has کور.

ای روی تو باغ و سبزه آن خط
 صد نافه چین نهان دران خط
 در مهر و رُخت تفاوتی نیست
 الا برُخت که شد نشان خط
 چون زلف و خُط دلش¹ پریشانست
 هر کس که بدید زلف و آن خط
 ریحان بدمید در گلستان
 بر روی خوشت چو شد عیان خط
 بر گرد قر حصار غبر
 یعنی به جمال مه رُخان خط
 زلف و لب و خال و چشم مست
 این جمله چو بینم آنگه آن خط
 بنشینم و جام عشق نوشم
 کونین به جرعه فروشم

120

ای بُرده ز روی تو قر حظ
 لب بر لب من بنه که یکدم
 تیر مژه ات که بر جگر خورد
 ما دست ز نفع دهر شُستیم
 مرهم نه نهیم بر جراحت
 کامش بدلِ خرد که دور است²
 ما با غم فقر شادمانیم
 وز خال و خط تو مشک تر حظ
 باهم بکنند یکدگر حظ
 یا زخم نهفت در جگر حظ؟
 تا یافته ایم در ضرر حظ
 داریم ز نیش بیشتر حظ
 دارد دلِ مرد بیخبر حظ
 دارند جهانیان ز زر حظ

130

¹ The MS. has دلم.² The MS. has الست.

دارد دل کَشَنی جگر سوز از درد و غم تو سر بسر حظ
دل را ز حضور تو سرور است از لعل لَبَتِ بَرَم اگر حظ

بنشینم و جام عشق نوشم

کونین به جرعه فروشم

از دور بدیدن تو قانع گشتیم و مرا شدی نه¹ مانع
گی بر رخ تو نظر توان کرد خورشیدوش است زانکه لامع
چون ذره جهان در اضطراب است تا مهر رُخ تو گشته طالع
از بسکه جمال تُست مطبوع متبوع توئی و خلق تابع
بر قند لَبَت شده است کَشَنی مانند مگس حریص و طامع
بر قول تو نیست اعتمادی تحقیق شده به نص قاطع
بر هرچه نظر فند نکوبین در صنع نگر جمال صانع
در بند هوای هر دو کونیم آید مددی اگر ز طالع

140

بنشینم و جام عشق نوشم

کونین به جرعه فروشم

از رشک رُخ تو بوستان داغ وز خوی تو جان عاشقان داغ
دل سوخته ز آتش محبت وز درد فراق گشته جان داغ
هر عاشق خسته دل به سینه دارد ز جمال مهوشان داغ
ای رونق بوستان خوبی دل از غم تُست لاله سان داغ
عشق تو چه آتشی ست کروی گشته جگر جهانیان داغ
ای آتش عشق تو نهاده در هر بن موی من نهان داغ

¹ نشد تو has The MS.

150 من خود چه کسم کز آتش عشق دارد دل جمله انس و جان داغ
از عشق تو ای مه یگانه بر جبهه من چو شد نشان داغ

بنشینم و جام عشق نوشم
کونین به جرعه فروشم

با وصف حق است هر که موصوف
اسرار نهان بر اوست مکشوف
تا صاف نگردد از کدورت
صوفی نشود بخرقه صوف
بکشای ز رخ نقاب ای جان
بر تُست دل دو کون مشغوف
تحقیق بدانکه می نگنجَد
در وحدت صرف ؛ و ظرف ، مظروف
مجنون صفت ار بعشق کشفی
در هر دو جهان شدم چو معروف

بنشینم و جام عشق نوشم
کونین به جرعه فروشم

160 عشق تو بود روان عاشق وز یاد تو زنده جان عاشق
رُخ چون که و تن چو موی از غم اینست بدان نشان عاشق
ای زلف تو دام مرغ دلها وی روی تو بوستان عاشق
مژگان و هلال ابروانت شد تیر و کمان بجان عاشق
هرگز نکند نظر به جنت کوی تو بود چنان¹ عاشق

¹ The MS. has چنان باعشق.

یک دَرّه بجز غم تو نگذاشت عشق تو ز خان و مان عاشق
 کونین فروختن به جامی در عشق شد ار نشان عاشق
 بنشینم و جام عشق نوشم
 کونین به جرعه فروشم

ای بر درِ تو جهان شده خاک 170
 دردِ تو به از هزار درمان
 از روز نخست شادمان است
 مشکل بود از غمت بریدن
 در شان تو گفت حق تعالی
 وصف ز خیال و وهم افزون
 بر گرد رخت دمید بستان
 هرگز نه شنیدم و نه دیدم
 چشمانِ تو مست خواب² و مژگان
 ای خرمن ناز و گنج غمزه
 با من نکنی گهی حدیثی
 از هجر رُخ تو گشته کشفی
 عشق تو چو بُرد ننگ و ناموس
 من گئی روم از درِ تو خاشاک¹ !
 زهر از کفِ تست عین تریاک
 آنکس که ز دردِ تست غمناک
 عمریست گرفته انس زیراک
 لَوْلَاکَ لَمَّا خَلَقْتُ الْاَفْلَاکَ
 قاصر ز کمالِ تستِ ادراک
 در زلف تو صد هزار پیچاک
 بر گرد قر دو مار ضحاک
 در کشتن عاشق اند بیباک
 دل سوخته ز خوی تو³ چو خاشاک
 زین غصّه شد است سینه⁴ صد چاک
 دل سوخته و دو دیده نمناک
 از خلق جهان نیایدم باک

بنشینم و جام عشق نوشم
 کونین به جرعه فروشم

¹ The MS. has خاشاک.

² The MS. has مست و خواب.

³ The MS. has ز خویبت.

⁴ The MS. has شیشه.

تادل به غم تو گشته واصل شادی دو کون کرده حاصل
 صیاد توئی و دانه خالت گیسوی تو دام و مرغ او دل
 زلفین ترا لقب کند است مژگان ترا خطاب قاتل
 گر پرده کشائی از رخ خویش دیوانه شود هزار عاقل
 شمس ارچه منور است اما چون تو نبود نکو شمایل
 چون مهر منور است یکسر از سایه مهر تو محافل
 ای گنج عطا و کان بخشش باذل توئی و جهان سائل
 تو خضر رهی و راهرو خلق ناقص همه عالم و تو کامل
 ثانی تو نیست کس به عالم ای شاه دو کون در فضایل
 آنکس که به سینه کینه ات داشت یا بغض ترا به خاطر و دل 190
 یا حربه زده به بندگان دوزخ بودش مقام و منزل
 و آنکس که محبت¹ بجانش لطف تو همیشه باد شامل
 ای قدوه عارفان معنی وی قبله عالمان عامل
 ای ساقی تشنگان اسرار وی مبدأ و ملجأ سلاسل
 خواهم ز تو نشئه می عشق این آرزویم شود چو حاصل

بنشینم و جام عشق نوشم

کونین به جرعه فروشم

مستغرق عشق آنچنانم کز وصل و فراق هم ندانم
 صدرنگ گهر درون من است دریای عمیق بیکرانم
 شوق دل عاشقان مشتاق آینه حسن مهوشانم
 نور دل عارفان معنی هم ظلمت کفر کافرانم² 200

¹ The MS. has تو محبت.

² The MS. has کفر و کافرانم.

هم قبله زاهدان لاریب	هم بتکده برهنانم
هم دود جهنم و هم آتش	هم تازگی گل جنانم
هم راه روم به هر طریق	هم راهنمای گمراهانم
هم ظاهر و مظهر و ظهورم	هم قالب و روح و جسم و جانم
خضر ره سالکان عشقم	عنقا منشی ز لامکانم
کفش کهن گدای شهرم	هم تاج مرصع شهانم
بس بوالعجبم بنزد عاقل	هم دزد و هم نگاهبانم
من مرغ حقیقتم چو کشفی	با روح قدس هم آشیانم
هم بال و پرِ همای عشقم	هم بر سر خویش سایه بانم
یکسر شده ام چو مهر انور	تا عشق نموده رخ عیانم
بشگفته ام از بهار وصلش	آرایش گلشن جهانم
زیر قدمش چو خاک راهم	زان فخر کلاه آسمانم
خواهم که بیای شوق امشب	خود را چو بیزم او رسانم

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کونین به جرعه فروشم

آئینه روی کایناتم	بیرون ز جهان و از جهاتم
دریای روانم و هم امواج	چون عین صفات و عین ذاتم
هم خنده و ذوق اهل عیشم	هم گریه و درد اهل ماتم
با من بکنید عرض احوال	حلال جمیع مشکلاتم
چون غنچه نهان بخویش بودم	اکنون گل باغ کایناتم
این جمله صفت که کردم اثبات	با اینهمه وصف بی صفاتم

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از روز نخست کلک قدرت بنوشت غم تو در برآتم
ای گنج جمال مستحقم یک بوسه اگر دهی زکاتم

بنشینم و جام عشق نوشم
کونین به جرعه فروشم

ای خم ز غم تو پُشت گردون از عشق تو هر دو کون در خون
لعل تو چو برگ گل لطیف است نخل قد تو چو سرو موزون
زلف تو چو مشک تر معطر دندان تو همچون دُر مکنون
هر کس که رخ تو دید یکبار غیر تو ز دل فگند بیرون
وصف رخ تو بشرح ناید چون شرح شود جمال بیچون؟
در دور دو چشم پر خمارت مژگان تو میکند بسی خون
تنها نه منم خراب عشقت کونین بحسن تست مفتون 230
من موی بموی اسیر زلفت هر موی تو خوانده بر من افسون
هرچند نیاز پیش کردم نازت ز نیاز گشت افزون
من محو محبت آنچنانم کز حالت من به رشک مجنون
از بهر نشاط خاطر من عشق تو ز درد ساخت معجون
عاشق که ز روی¹ عیش دیدن بیچاره مدام هست محزون
هر سرو قدی که گشته عاشق شد قامت او ز غصه چون نون
عشق است سه حرف و زیر هر حرف بنوشته ز غم هزار مضمون
من مست محبتم نه میرم ور زانکه شوم بقبر مدفون

بنشینم و جام عشق نوشم
کونین به جرعه فروشم

¹ The MS. has وی از.

240 ای دل چه نصیحتیست بشنو بگذر ز حدیث کهنه و نو
چون در همه جا ظهور یار است شناس یکی گدا و خسرو
جز جلوه حسن دوست منگر جز نغمه عشق هیچ مشنو
هر ذره چو آفتاب تابانست تا مهر رخس فگنده پرتو
گفتم که ببزم وصلت آیم گفتا که حکایتی ست بشنو
گر طالب بزم وصل مائی اول ز وجود خود برون شو
یک لمحہ مباح فارغ از غم یک لحظه مبند چشم و مغنو
خواهی که شراب عشق نوشی بفروش دو کون را بیک جو
خواهی که مرا عیان به بینی از دیدۀ خویشان نهان شو
گر پرده بر افتد از جمالت سوگند بحسنت ای مه نو

بنشینم و جام عشق نوشم

کونین به جرعه فروشم

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ای غنچه لب و چنین کشاده عشقت خردم بباد داده
ای ماه برآی بیام و بنگر خلق به در تو سر نهاده
گردونست فدای تو شب و روز خورشید بیایت او افتاده
ای شاه سوار مرکب حسن یوسف به رکاب تو پیاده
ای ساقی حسن اگر چو کشفی یایم ز کف تو جام باده

بنشینم و جام عشق نوشم

کونین بجرعه فروشم

ای آنکه همای لامکانی با روح قدس هم آشیائی
 پرواز نما چه جای خوابست تا چند اسیر دایمانی؟
 بر گلشن خویش کن تماشا تا چند چو غنچه نهانی؟
 بهرچه سراب گشته تو چون بحر عمیق بیکرانی؟
 خود را تو چو ذره نه بینی گر شوکت ذات خویش دانی
 در ظاهر اگرچه ذره سانی لیکن به بطون سپهر شانی
 در ظاهر اگرچه مستمندی در ملک بطون تو کامرانی
 ظاهر چو تو صد هزار پیداست باطن نبود بجز تو ثانی
 گنجی به درون تست مدفون از غفلت خویشان نه دانی
 صد دزد بدانکه در کمین است بر گنج نشین بیاسبانی
 از گنج خود ار خبر بیابی¹ دانی که تو شاه جاودانی
 ماریست نشسته بر سر گنج گر کشتن مار میتوانی
 حقاً که بکش موز غفلت کر کشتن وی تو زنده مانی
 دلتنگ شدم ز وعظ کشفی تا چند کنم فسانه خوانی²

بنشینم و جامِ عشق نوشم
 کونین به جرعه فروشم

این مختری که کلک فکرم بنوشت به روی لوح آیام
 آمد می ناب بهر² منصف وز بهر حسود³، تیغ و صمصام⁴

¹ The MS. has نه یابی.

² The MS. has بحر..

³ The MS. has بحر چسود.

⁴ The MS. has تیغ صمصام.

این زاده طبع شاعری نیست از غیب رسید همچو الهام
چون جمع راز عشق و حسن^۱ است مجموعه راز گردش نام

از یمن فیوض صبحگاهی

در سی و هزار یافت اتمام

TRANSLATION

Stanza I.

O, Friend, show Thy world-adorning Beauty to the frenzied lovers.

O, Thou, from whom the two worlds have received manifestation, hidden secrets are visible to Thee.

For Thee the Earth rests upon water; for Thee the sky stands afoot:

Day and Night are bright due to Thy light; it is Thy light which the moon and the sun reflect;

In longing for Thee the sky revolves; Pole stands still in amazement on account of Thee:

Yūsuf's beauty has carried fire from Thee into the heart of Zulaikhā.

Thou Thyself hast become the mirror of Beauty's reflection,

Thou hast become the very eye as well as the object of sight;

"Show Thyself to me" and "Thou shalt never see" saidest Thou;

Thou becamest the Sināi Mountain as also the Glory.

Thou art, indeed, wondrous, what shall I say about Thee?

Thou art the object of desire as also the desire itself.

How shall I describe Thee, for Thy description is beyond the scope of my imagination?

Without Thee my mind is continuously measuring the air, if Thou measurest out wine to my heart,

I will sit down and drink of the wine-cup of Love (and)

I will sell both the worlds in exchange for a draught.

Stanza II.

When God blew the soul into the body, Love came and got itself mixed with the soul.

Since from the Primal Day Love exists with Soul, it enjoys nearness to God.

^۱ The MS. has راز و عشق حسن.

My heart learnt no word except Love when it went to school for the first time.

Neither Islām nor Infidelity do I choose: I have no religion other than Love.

I know neither union nor separation, as I have no aim besides Love.

On account of the ebullition of Love, I have no rest either by day or by night.

O *Kashfī*, if the cup of heart comes to be filled with the wine of Love's refulgence,

I will sit down and drink of the wine-cup of Love (and)

I will sell both the worlds in exchange for a draught.

Stanza III.

I found Love's manifestation everywhere, there is Love's radiance in the sun as well as in the mote:

The idols' eyes who are intoxicated with coquetry, are, indeed, under the effect of Love's pride.

The Lover who is wailing of the pain of Separation,—his pain is entirely the presence of Love.

Never be sad at heart on account of affliction, (for) it is the mirror of Love's joy.

Jinnīs, angels, parīs, mankind,—in all the manifestation of Love is evident.

From my tongue hundreds of flames emanate; you might say that there is in (my) heart the furnace of Love.

Every moment refulgences fall upon my mind; the mind is Moses, the chest the Mount Sināi.

O, thou, who seeketh Paradise, know that it is one of the palaces of Love.

Kashfī, who is eternally moaning, is unconscious due to the pure wine of Love:

The good verses, which the heart recites every moment, are the outcome of Love's perception.

From the moon to the Fish,—in all,—there is Love's manifestation.

Why should I (condescend to) look at the world and religion when the cup-bearer of my heart is the *hourī* of Love? ¹

.....

¹ The stanza breaks here abruptly, and even in the following one, some lines are missing.

Stanza IV.

The fire (of Love) from that face (of the Beloved) overtook the hearts of all,—children, youths and old men alike.

I have never divulged to anyone (the secret of my love), although my heart has been altogether roasted by (the fire of) that face.

And this is strange, that, despite its being fire, from the (Beloved's) face water was trickling down.

I am standing in the expectation of union: only if the veil be removed from that face,

I will sit down and drink of the wine-cup of Love (and)

I will sell both the worlds in exchange for a draught.

Stanza V.

Mankind cannot adequately describe Thy face: there shall never be one like Thee.

Since Thy face has displayed itself in every direction, eyes fall on nothing but Thy face.

Except mischief and pride (or coquetry), no fruit the tree of Thy stature ever bears.

To bear the burden of Thy love's affliction is not possible for one heart, for one liver.

I have lost my soul and heart on account of Thy love; we know no merit but this.

I am lost so much in Thy love that I am not aware of myself.

O pious man! do not step into His lane; I know that you cannot afford loss of head.

Indeed, the path of the *Ka'ba* of Love is not traversed so long as the head is not gone.

Love, wisdom, generosity, boldness,—all these are not procurable with strength and gold.

I am alive in the hope of union; I shall die if my moon does not appear.

I am so intoxicated with the Primal Day's cup of Love that no other action proceeds from me: (but)

I will sit down and drink of the wine-cup of Love (and)

I will sell both the worlds in exchange for a draught.

Stanza VI.

So much intimacy has sprung up between me and paper that all my heart's secrets are revealed to it.

Since it is the confidant between the lover and the Beloved, may the heart and the soul be sacrificed to it.

The paintings of the faces of idols on paper can be considered to be the objects of the full moon's envy.

O *Kashfī* may poetry and calligraphy remain on paper thy everlasting memento.

If the two weeks' moon become clouded,
 If some news about her (comes) through paper,
 I will sit down and drink of the wine-cup of Love (and)
 I will sell both the worlds in exchange for a draught.

Stanza VII.

O heart! for a moment pass beyond the *branch*, and then, peep
 into the very *essence* of the *root*;
 For, when you do so, you will realise that you are yourself the
root, all others are merely pretences.
 Be eternally absorbed in yourself, never look towards anyone;
 Within you are manifest a hundred moon-faced ones, each one of
 which excels the beauty of the sun.
 Whatever you seek from others is within you; O you, whose
 description is above imagination.
 You are the invisible world-displaying cup, Alexander's Mirror
 as well as Alexander himself:
 In truth you are the king of both the worlds: how long would
 you go on begging from every door?
 Sit down and shut up your five senses, be no more polluted by
 the "retention of breath" (*habs-i-nafas*).
 So that hundreds of Yūsufs as lustrous as the sun every breath
 (moment) might reveal unto you.
 For a moment behold with the divine-perceiving eye, that the
 mote is equal to the sun.
 O thou that encompasseth the creation, I am merely an atom,
 even less:
 I am enamoured of the beauty of Thy face; I am the slave, Thou
 art the Great Lord.
 I quaff blood in the pangs of Thy separation, if Thy union were
 to fall to my lot,
 I will sit down and drink of the wine-cup of Love (and)
 I will sell both the worlds in exchange for a draught.

Stanza VIII.

I saw the face of that facetious one, from whose shadow miracles
 are manifest.
 When I became supplication personified, she turned her face to
 me with a hundred blandishments,
 Said she, "O thou, ruined by affliction. Do you long to be my
 confidant?
 Never get used to comfort, continue burning in the fire of pain
 and put up with it."
 Every hair of mine is intent on dancing, "Sing, O Minstrel of
 Love".
 From the ecstasy of Love my heart cried out, "I am the Truth",
 the soul made its own declaration, the mind (revealed) its
 secret.

I long to conceal the pangs of my heart, only if they be not divulged by the tale-bearing tears.

When the bird of my heart started flying, Thy eye-lashes darted an arrow of wink.

If Thou namest me the dust of Thy door, by this honour I will become distinguished in the world.

O ornament of the moon-faced beauties! If Thou grant me company only for a moment

I will sit down and drink of the wine-cup of Love (and)

I will sell both the worlds in exchange for a draught.

Stanza IX.

The Beloved befriends my soul, the Friend sympathizes with my heart.

O Sweetheart! Since my heart became attached to Thy love, it has lost all comfort.

Since the time Thou didst promise union, expectation has become a companion of (my) heart.

In separation from Thee, O Beauty, my only sympathizer is copious weeping.

O Friend! sit not with the rival, the association of the rose with the thorn is a matter for regret.

O *Kashfī*! Do you know what I will do if that idol becomes my companion?

I will sit down and drink of the wine-cup of Love (and)

I will sell both the worlds in exchange for a draught.

Stanza X.

O Thou! who hast come Soul-like into my embrace, the world has been forgotten on account of Thy coming.

When Thou didst graciously place Thy lip upon mine, the soul whispered into the ears of the heart, "drink wine".

Since Thou didst display Thy intoxicated narcissus, I have become unconscious due to the wine of blandishment.

When Thy face came in view everything else was forgotten.

Except the burden of Thy Love nothing can be borne,—not even a mote,—by our shoulders.

Since the ring of (Thy) servitude is in the ear, the heart never longs for kingship.

If the preacher read out a hundred volumes of sermon, how can the love-mad listen to it?

His sermon is like straw; Love is like flame; never has the flame been covered with (i.e. concealed by) straw.

O devotee! Why dost thou display thy devotion? For, in this quarter people do not buy it; so do not (try to) sell it.

Since Love's wine made me unconscious, I do not distinguish between devotion and piety.

In longing for Thee my entire life has been spent, O Moon ! if
 Thou cometh into my embrace one night,
 I will sit down and drink of the wine-cup of Love (and)
 I will sell both the worlds in exchange for a draught.

Stanza XI.

Love's wine has set my heart adancing, my soul also has become
 unconscious in the dance.
 On whomsoever fell the shadow of Love, as long as his shadow
 remained, he remained dancing.
 In the longing for the indeclinable Beauty the temple and the
 idol-worshipper are dancing.
 In my (ecstatic) dance, I do not know my name or identity;
 nor do I know foot, nor head, nor hand.
 Since Love's minstrel raised his tone (in music), the mote as well
 as the sun got intoxicated with dancing.
Kashfi ! as in the Assembly of the Friend the jar and the cup are
 dancing to-night,
 I will sit down and drink of the wine-cup of Love (and)
 I will sell both the worlds in exchange for a draught.

Stanza XII.

Since blessings (favours) have flown to the Soul from love, how
 long shall I hide them ?
 I have become replete with blessings and favours, to such an
 extent that even the angels derived benefit from me—
 The sky is enamoured of me, night and day ; it desires thereby to
 obtain a portion of the blessings (conferred on me).
 Blessings, which were the phoenix of the Spaceless Region, have
 made their abode within my soul.
 The two worlds would become like the sun altogether, if I were
 to display a particle of that blessing.
 It is time that, sitting upon the throne of Spiritual Attention, I
 should let the entire creation (lit. mankind and the Jinnis)
 derive benefit (from me).
 O people of the world ! if you long for blessings in profusion, turn
 to me:
 He who does not make out blessings from my face, weeps at the
 blindness of his own ignorance.
 O worshipper that loveth paradise, (know that) it has received
 blessings from my shadow.
 I am, in every inch of my body (lit. from hair to hair), a mine of
 blessings ; and since blessing has made its abode within my
 soul,
 I will sit down and drink of the wine-cup of Love (and)
 I will sell both the worlds in exchange for a draught.

Stanza XIII.

O Thou! whose face is garden, the lawn (of which) is the down
(on Thy cheek), there are concealed in that down a hundred
naval (musk) pods of China.

There is no difference between Thy face and the sun, except that
on Thy face there is the mark of that down.

Every one who saw Thy ringlets and the down, has his heart
confused like Thy ringlets and Thy down.

When the down appeared on Thy charming face the sweet basil
blossomed in the garden.

There is the halo of ambergris about the moon, that is to say,
the down on the beauty of the moon-faced ones.

When I see Thy ringlets, Thy lips, Thy mole, Thy intoxicated
eyes and above all the down

I will sit down and drink of the wine-cup of Love (and)

I will sell both the worlds in exchange for a draught.

Stanza XIV.

O Thou! from Thy face the moon has derived its competence
and the fresh musk (its richness) from Thy mole and down,
Place Thy lip upon mine for a moment, so that they might
assimilate each other's joy.

(Is it) the arrow of your eyelash which has wounded (my) heart
or (is it) the pleasure (of pain) which has concealed the wound
in my heart?

We have washed our hands of earthly profit, since we have
experienced pleasure in loss.

We shall never put ointment upon (our) wound, for we get more
pleasure from the lancet.

The further the object of his longing from reason, the more the
happiness an unconscious man derives from it.

We are happy despite the affliction of destitution, although people
of the world get happiness from gold. The heart of the liver-
consumed *Kashfī* derives full pleasure from pangs and affliction
due to Thee.

Thy presence gives solace to the heart; only if I derive pleasure
from the ruby of Thy lip

I will sit down and drink of the wine-cup of Love (and)

I will sell both the worlds in exchange for a draught.

Stanza XV.

We are content with looking at Thee from a distance, although
Thou hast never prohibited us (from looking at Thee).

How is it possible to cast a glance at Thy face, since it is shining
like the sun?

Since the time that the sun of Thy face has risen, the entire
world is in commotion like the mote.

To such a degree is Thy beauty agreeable that Thou art the Chief and the (whole) creation is Thy followers.

Like the fly, *Kashfi* has become greedy of the sugar-candy of Thy lip.

That there is no reliance upon Thy word has been proved by a Conclusive Verse.

See carefully everything on which your eyes fall, and discern in Art the beauty of the Artist.

We are labouring under the lust of both the worlds, if fortune help

I will sit down and drink of the wine-cup of Love (and)

I will sell both the worlds in exchange for a draught.

Stanza XVI

In envy of Thy face the garden got branded; the souls of the lovers are sorely afflicted (lit. branded) on account of Thy temper.

Love's fire burnt the heart and due to the pangs of separation the soul got branded.

Every lover, heart-wounded, bears on his bosom a brand of the beauty of the moon-faced ones.

O Charm of Beauty's Garden, my heart bears brands like the tulip on account of deep love for Thee.

What sort of a fire is Thy Love? It has burnt the livers of the people of the world.

O Thou whose fire of Love has impressed a hidden mask on every root of my hair!

Of what significance am I? The hearts of all the creation (lit. mankind and Jinnis) possess brands due to the fire of Love.

O Unique moon! When on my forehead is branded a mask of thy Love,

I will sit down and drink of the wine-cup of Love (and)

I will sell both the worlds in exchange for a draught.

Stanza XVII.

Whosoever is characterized with the Attributes of God,—to him are revealed the hidden secrets.

As long as one does not become purged of all impurities, one does not become *Sūfī* by merely wearing a (patched) woollen garment.

Remove the veil from Thy face, O Beloved! the hearts of both the worlds are inflamed with love for Thee.

Know for certain that *change* cannot be contained within Unity and the *contents* within the *container*.

Kashfi! Since on account of love I have become celebrated like Majnun in both the worlds,

I will sit down and drink of the wine-cup of Love (and)

I will sell both the worlds in exchange for a draught.

Stanza XVIII.

Thy love is the very life of the lover, and the Soul of the lover
 is sustained by Thy remembrance.
 Face like straw and body like hair in affliction,—know that these
 are the signs of a (true) lover.
 O Thou! whose tresses are a net for the birds of hearts and O
 Thou! whose face is the lovers' garden.
 Thy eye-lashes and the crescent of Thy eye-brows act like arrow
 and bow respectively for the lover's soul.
 Never would the lover cast a glance at Paradise, for, his Paradise
 is Thy lane.
 Of the lover's belongings, except affliction, not even a particle has
 been left by Thy Love.
 If selling the two worlds for a cup is decided in Love to be the
 sign of a lover,
 I will sit down and drink of the wine-cup of Love (and)
 I will sell both the worlds in exchange for a draught.

Stanza XIX.

O Thou at whose door the entire world has become dust! how
 can I go away from Thy door?—Far from it.
 Thy affliction is better than a thousand remedies; poison from
 Thy hands is the very essence of antidote.
 He who is afflicted with Thy Love, is happy from the very
 Primal Day.
 Since it is a life-time that (he) caught love, it would be hard
 to cut himself away from Thy Love.
 It is with reference to Thee that the Almighty said: "But for
 Thee I would not have created the heavens".
 Thy description is beyond Imagination and Fancy; Comprehension
 falls short of Thy Perfection.
 About Thy face a garden has sprung up; in Thy ringlets there
 are millions of curls.
 Neither have I heard nor seen two *Duhhāk's* serpents around the
 moon.
 Thy eyes are drowsy and Thy eye-lashes undaunted in killing the
 lovers.
 O Thou harvest of pride! and O Treasure of blandishments!
 Thy nature has consumed the heart (of the lover) like straw.
 Thou dost not even once condescend to talk to me; this has torn
 asunder my bosom.
 Separation from Thee (lit. from Thy face) has made *Kashfī*,
 heart-consumed and of tearful eyes.
 Inasmuch as Thy love has carried away all respect and repute,
 I am not afraid of the people of the world,
 I will sit down and drink of the wine-cup of Love (and)
 I will sell both the worlds in exchange for a draught.

Stanza XX.

Since the heart got one with Thy affliction (deep love), it has
 acquired the joy of the two worlds.
 Thou art the hunter, Thy mole the grain, Thy ringlets the net,
 its victim the heart.
 "Lasso" is the title of Thy ringlets, "killer" that of Thy eye-
 lashes.
 If Thou wilt remove the veil from Thy face, a thousand wise men
 will become mad.
 Although the sun is bright still it cannot be possessor of beautiful
 qualities that Thou doth possess.
 Under the shadow of Thy sun (favours) assemblies are as bright
 as the sun itself.
 O Treasure of generosity! and O Mine of beneficence! Thou art
 the generous giver and the world is beggar.
 Thou art the Khidr of the Path and the people of the world are
 travellers; Thou (alone) art the Perfect and the whole of the
 Universe defective.
 O King of the two worlds! In excellence there is no equal to
 Thee in the universe.
 Whosoever cherishes malice in his breast for Thee, or hatred in
 his mind or heart,
 Or has wounded Thy worshippers,—his abode is Hell.
 And he who nourishes Thy Love in his heart, may he be eternally
 encompassed by Thy Bounty.
 O Model of those who know the Reality! and O Altar of the
 learned men who act in accordance with their knowledge!
 O cup-bearer for the thirsty ones of (divine) secrets! and O
 Origin and the Shelter of the Chains!
 I beg of Thee the intoxication of the wine of Love, and when
 this desire of mine will be granted
 I will sit down and drink of the wine-cup of Love (and)
 I will sell both the worlds in exchange for a draught.

Stanza XXI.

So much absorbed in Love am I that I know not union from
 separation.
 Pearls of hundred hues are concealed within myself, I am a deep
 shoreless ocean.
 I am the longing of the yearning lovers, I am the mirror of
 the beauty of moon-like ones;
 I am the light of the hearts of the knowers of the Reality, also
 the darkness of infidelity of the infidels,
 The *Qiblah* of sincere devotees as also the Temple of the Brahmins;
 I am the smoke of hell-fire and Fire itself, and the freshness of
 the roses of Paradise.
 I am the traveller on each and every path and the guide of the
 misled.

I am the manifester, the place of manifestation as also manifestation (itself).

I am the Form, the Spirit, the Body as also the Heart.

To the travellers of the Path of Love I am the *Khidr* (Guide).

I am the phoenix-minded (being) from the spaceless region.

I am the rotten shoes of the city beggar, I am also the begemmed crown of the king;

To the wise I am the Father of wonders, the thief as also the Guard.

I am bird of Reality like *Kashfī*, I am companion of the Rūhu'l-Quds:

I am the wings and feathers of Love's phoenix, as also the canopy upon my own head.

Since Love made its face appear to me clearly, I have become from head to foot, like the shining Sun.

By the spring of His union have I blossomed (and that is why)

I am the decoration of the world's garden.

Under the Friend's feet I am like the dust of the road, due to this pride I am the crown of the sky.

It is my desire that when I convey myself to the Friend's assembly with the feet of longing to-night,

I will sit down and drink of the wine-cup of Love (and)

I will sell both the worlds in exchange for a draught.

Stanza XXII.

I am the mirror of the face of the creation. I am outside the world and the directions.

I am the flowing ocean as well as the waves, inasmuch as I am the very *essence* of the *Attributes* and that of *Essence* (of God).

I am the smile and the Joy of the people of Pleasure; I am the crying as also the pain of the mourners.

(Therefore) submit your petitions to me, I am the solver of all difficulties.

So far I had been confined within myself like the bud, but now I am the (full-blown) rose of the creation's garden.

Notwithstanding the affirmation of all these attributes I am yet something indescribable.

The Pen of Providence wrote, from the very Primal Day, Thy deep Love in my destiny's cheque.

O Beauty's treasure! I am the deserving (beggar); and if you grant me a kiss in alms

I will sit down and drink of the wine-cup of Love (and)

I will sell both the worlds in exchange for a draught.

Stanza XXIII.

O Thou! On account of whose deep love, the back of the sky is bent, due to Thy Love both the worlds are drowned in blood (greatly afflicted).

Like the rose-petal Thy ruby is lovely, the palm of Thy stature is
as symmetrical as the cypress.

Thy ringlets are as fragrant as fresh musk, Thy teeth are like
fine pearls.

Every one who saw, once, Thy face, removed everyone other than
Thyself from his mind.

Thy face cannot be adequately described, how is it possible to
describe matchless beauty?

During the regime of Thy eyes, Thy eye-lashes shed the blood
of many.

I am not the only person who is ruined in Thy love, both the
worlds are enamoured of Thy beauty.

I am,—every hair of mine,—entangled in Thy ringlets, every
hair of Thine has recited some charm over me.

The more I supplicated the more Thy pride increased.

So much have I effaced myself in Thy Love that even Majnūn
envies my state.

For the joy of my heart Thy Love prepared an electuary out of
Pain

The lover is always aggrieved (only) because he longs to see
happiness.

Every cypress-statured person who fell in (Thy) love had his
stature bent down like the letter *Nūn* owing to excessive grief
(of love).

(The word) “*Ishq*” is made up of three letters, under each one of
which are written a thousand essays of affliction.

I am intoxicated by Love and shall never die, and even if I be
deposited in grave

I will sit down and drink of the wine-cup of Love (and)

I will sell both the worlds in exchange for a draught.

Stanza XXIV

O heart! listen to this advice: give up all talk about the Old
and the New:

Since in very place there is the manifestation of the Friend,
consider the king and the beggar alike.

See nothing but the display of the Friend's Beauty, hear nothing
except the song of Love.

Every mote has become like the lustrous sun, since the sun of
His face cast a reflection (upon it).

“I will come to the assembly of Thy union,” said I. The friend
said, “It is a Fable, listen:

If thou art desirous of our union, the first thing that thou
must do is to get rid of thy self:

For a moment thou must not be free from pain (of Love); for a
twinkling of an eye thou must not close thine eyes and drowse;

If thou dost desire to drink of Love's wine, sell for a barley both
the worlds;

If thou dost long to see me unveiled (lit. manifest), be concealed from thine own eyes."

If the veil falls off from Thy Beauty, O New Moon! by Thy Beauty,

I will sit down and drink of the wine-cup of Love (and)
I will sell both the worlds in exchange for a draught.

Stanza XXV.

O Thou! whose lips are like the bud and whose forehead is broad, Thy Love has deprived me of the power of reasoning.

O Moon! Come on the terrace and see the (entire) creation prostrated at Thy door.

Thy sky is devoted to Thee and day and night the sun has fallen at Thy feet.

O royal rider of Beauty's horse! Yūsuf walks afoot by Thy stirrup.

O Cup-bearer of Beauty! if, like Kaṣḥfī, I get from Thy hands the cup of wine,

I will sit down and drink of the wine-cup of Love (and)
I will sell both the worlds in exchange for a draught.

Stanza XXVI

O Thou who art the phoenix of the Spaceless Region! Thou art the companion of Ruḥu'l-Quds.

Soar high, what is the occasion of slumber? How long wilt thou lag behind, a prisoner?

Strut upon thy own garden, how long wilt thou remain like an enclosed bud?

Why hast thou become a mirage, when thou art the deep shoreless ocean?

Thou wouldst never consider thyself like a particle, if thou didst know the grandeur of thyself.

Although outwardly thou art a mote thou art inwardly the grandeur of the sky.

Outwardly although thou art needy; in the realm of the Interior thou art prosperous.

There is concealed within thee a treasure, which, due to neglect thou dost not know;

Know that a hundred thieves are lying in ambush, sit on the treasure to guard.

If thou comest to know of thy own treasure, thou wouldst realize that thou art the eternal king.

There is a dragon sitting upon the treasure, if thou canst kill it, Certainly do so; neglect it not, for, by its killing alone wilt thou live.

I am depressed of Kaṣḥfī's sermon, how long shall I read fables?

I will sit down and drink of the wine-cup of love (and)
I will set both the worlds in exchange of a draught.

Stanza XXVII.

This novel thing which the pen of my imagination inscribed upon
the tablet of time,

It is (like) pure wine for the just (critic) and (like) sword and
Scimitar for the jealous.

This is not the outcome of a poet's imagination; it has come
as inspiration from the hidden (world);

Inasmuch as it is the meeting place of the mystery of Love and
Beauty, I have named it the "*Majmū'a-i-Rāz*".

By the divine blessings of morning it obtained completion in (the
year) 1030 (thirty and thousand (A.H. 1030)).



THE SAGO PALM IN BASTAR STATE

By VERRIER ELWIN

The sago palm, *Caryota urens*, Linn., which is known as *gorga marra* in Gondi and as *salpi rukh* in Halbi,¹ is widely distributed over the greater part of Bastar State. It is an erect monoecious tree, with axillary spadices, which sometimes grows to the height of sixty or eighty feet. Its long bipinnate leaves with their fish-tail ends are sometimes twenty feet long. The aborigines of Bastar, Hill Marias, Bison-horn Marias and Ghotul Murias² regard the tree primarily as a source of liquor, though they use the inner tissues of the stem and the wood for other purposes. The popularity of the tree is shown in the riddle "Above sits the parrot, below is a threshing floor", suggesting that under the beautiful salphi tree a great crowd of people gather, and in such songs as "*Waliya wāto gorga ale māmāle—O uncle, the salphi trees are everywhere you go*". Unlike mahua spirit, however, salphi juice is not usually used in worship or on other ceremonial occasions. It is rather a drink for one's private and friendly hours,³ though it may often supplement a failing supply of mahua at a marriage or funeral.

As always, legends and stories gather about anything that is intimately connected with the life of the people. There are several different accounts of the origin of the salphi palm, but all agree in connecting it with youth and gaiety. It came into being when maidens danced together or when boys pursued their loves. In the north of the State the most common legend traces its origin to an expedition of boys and girls, from the house of Bhagavan, which came down to earth to dance and bathe. In this part of Bastar the most prominent cultural feature of Muria life is the *ghotul* or village dormitory, of which the boy and girl members are known as *chelik* and *motiāri* respectively. Several times a year the *chelik* and *motiāri* go out on dancing expeditions and the idea is that the girls and boys of the heavenly regions do the same. One such party came to Chikhli village on the northernmost plateau of the State and after bathing the girls left behind the cowrie

¹ The tree is called *mari* in Hindi, *birli* in Marathi, *mhar* or *jilugo* in Telugu, *konda panna* in Tamil, *kittul* by the Muduvar, *solopo* by the Khond, *sasai* by the Lakher.

² Grigson is mistaken in saying that Hill and Bison-horn Marias "almost alone in Bastar use salphi liquor"—W. V. Grigson, *The Maria Gonds of Bastar* (London, 1938), p. 224. The Murias of the north are among the most enthusiastic drinkers of salphi juice in the whole State.

³ According to Thurston, however, the fermented juice is used ceremonially at marriages and festivals by the Porojas and Sawaras—E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* (Madras, 1909), Vol. vi, pp. 216 and 322.

ornaments of their hair. These ornaments are very popular among the *motiāri*; sometimes a mass of cowries covers the whole of the back of their heads. When the girls found they had lost their ornaments they were angry and cursed the cowries saying, "Now turn into salphi trees and we will always live with you and will never lose you again". For this reason it is said the flower of the salphi tree looks like a pendant bunch of cowries. In other villages, however, it is said that the cowrie is the tuft of feathers that fell from the turban of Lingo, the traditional founder and hero of the Gond tribe. Yet again it is said that the tree was a feather stuck in the hair of a *motiāri*, which fell off as she was going to Penjori village to dance the Divali dances, and turned into a tree when she got angry with it. But everywhere it is agreed that the tree springs up in all those places where the girls, either from the house of Bhagavan or from some earthly *ghotul*, used to go to dance. In the forests above the Rau Ghat and all along the northern plateau there are a great many of these trees and these were the very parts where the girls went for their dancing in the dawn of the world.

There are, however, while we still remain among the northern Murias, some other versions of the origin of the palm. In Mule village the Murias say that when the seven salphi maidens (Gorga Kaina) were born they only had one placenta between them. This was cut off and buried by their mother. Almost immediately the seven sisters ran away and when the mother could not find them, she went to the place where the placenta was buried and let the milk from her breasts fall upon it. As the days went by there gradually grew up from the placenta a tree which was full of milk. This was the salphi palm that was born from milk and always gives milk.

Another story comes from Pharasgaon:—

Long ago there were eleven brothers and one day as they went hunting in the jungle they grew very thirsty. They came to a group of salphi trees and rested in their shade. The youngest brother looked up at the tree and said, "This is a very fine tree. Surely there is water hidden in its branches! I can see a pot tied there. Who can climb up and get it?" Each of the brothers tried to climb the tree and failed, for when they were nearly at the top they saw that the pot was full of blood. But the youngest boy made a rope of *siāri* fibre and climbed up and when he looked in the pot the juice appeared to him as milk. He brought it down and they all drank of it. The ten elder brothers fell senseless but the youngest boy was intoxicated with pleasure. But he grew afraid thinking that his brothers would die. Then his god said to him, "Offer a pig to the Gorga Kaina and they will recover". He sacrificed a pig and his brothers sat up again.

This is the origin of the sacrifices that are made to the tree before it is tapped. It is believed that if no offerings are made the

juice turns into blood and makes the people ill. If offerings are withheld for a long time, the tree dries up.

In the Chota Dongar area, the Hill Marias of the Abujhmar and the Murias of their immediate neighbourhood trace the palm to Tallur Muttai or Mother Earth herself. At the beginning of the world Tallur Muttai came with Kadrenal (whom some call her brother and some her husband) to the forests of Bastar. Kadrenal was innocent of sexual desire, and so Tallur Muttai created salphi palms with the hope that their juice would excite him. When Kadrenal first went to tap the trees, he tied a thread from the cut peduncle down to a hole which he dug below; but the wind blew it to and fro and the juice was scattered. Then Tallur Muttai taught him how to tie a gourd to catch the juice and place a leaf to guide it safely. Kadrenal drank a great quantity; desire came to him; and he went to Tallur Muttai.

But the Hill Marias of Jharagaon and Nalnar say that the palms originated when the seven Kaina, daughters of Bhagavan, came down to Singardip (the world) to bathe. They combed their hair and wherever their hairs fell, the trees sprang up. They give the names of three of the Maidens of the salphi tree—Puse Kaina, Ganganangi Kaina and Kondakalbuli Kaina.

When we move south to the beautiful hills of Dantewara, we find that the Bison-horn Marias have a different set of legends to account for the existence of this useful and delightful tree, but these legends too are associated with youth, with dancing and with love:—

Long ago there was a Maria called Iro Kowachi who had two beautiful daughters, Ilo and Palo. He made a seat of mahua wood and covered it with the skins of lice. He proclaimed that anyone who could lift it up and put it where he could bathe upon it, and who could say what kind of wood it was made of, and what skin covered it, would get his daughters. All the boys of the neighbourhood came to try but none could tell what the seat was and none could lift it up. At last came a lame boy called Mad Moda from the Irma Raj with an open sore upon his leg. He too was unable to guess what the seat was made of until a fly came and said, "Let me sit on your sore and eat it and then I will tell you what the wood is". The boy let the fly settle upon him and after it had taken its fill it told him that the seat was of mahua wood and covered with the skins of lice. Then the boy was able to lift up the seat and put it where Iro Kowachi could bathe.

Now Mad Moda was lame and ugly and covered with hideous sores. When the two girls Ilo and Palo saw him, they ran away in terror but the boy went stumbling along after them and dropped his dancing stick.¹ He went on and at last caught the girls by the strings with which they tied their hair into a bun.

¹ The dancing stick of the Marias is a pole three feet long with a bunch of iron lozenge-shaped bells at the top. It is called *tirbudi* or *gujri*.

He pulled the cloth off their shoulders and tore out some of their hair. Then he threw them down in the bed of the Indaltom River and enjoyed them. Afterwards the river divided and flowed onwards in two streams.

The boy's bell-stick turned into a toddy tree; the string from the girls' hair became salphi trees; the hair itself grew up as a *chhind palm*¹; the cloth became the broad-leaved plantain tree. Because on that day the girls' cloth fell from their shoulders, they now do not cover their breasts.

This is the story as it is told in Garmiri village. It is known in its main outlines in many other villages, though with small variations. In Dualkarka it was Ira Dhurwa who made the seat and its covering was of cloth. In Muskel it was Gaja Bhimul who made it and the end of the story is that Ilo and Palo jumped into the river at Dantewara and were drowned.

A few stories resemble the tales of the north. The Pen Kaina come down to bathe in the Godaveri river; they come singing to eat *jamun* fruit²; or they simply come to dance.

They sing, "Whoever can tell what our names are, we will go with him". When the village boys find they cannot tell their names they get angry and try to catch them. As the girls run away their bell-sticks fall and become toddy trees. The boys throw their sticks at them and these become salphi palms. As the girls run away the *kardan*-belts round their waists break and turn into the *chhind* palm. The knots on these belts are the fruit of the *chhind*. The god cuts off the testicles of the boys and sticks them on to the end of the dancing sticks and these become toddy fruit. That is why, the Marias say, their women beat the sticks so vigorously as they dance. This version of the story is from Bare Harma-munda. In Palnar the situation is reversed. When the boys begin to flirt with the girls, the girls beat them with their bell-sticks and it is the boys who run away. Here they add that the toddy trees said, "We won't stay here", and went down below the hills. But the salphi trees remained on the Dantewara plateau.

Another completely different type of story is told in the neighbourhood of Bailadila. Long ago a group of Marias were hunting on the Bailadila Hills. They grew very thirsty and went searching for water. A *karat* rat³ had nibbled at the peduncle of a salphi tree and a jungle cock had scratched a hole in the ground at its foot. The juice dropped into this hole and filled it. When the hunters came to the place they found a hole full of refreshing juice and drank it and thus learnt to tap the salphi tree.

¹ *Phoenix sylvestris*, Roxb.

² *Ficus retusa*, Linn.

³ In Gadapal the Marias said it was a wild pig.

The palms are carefully guarded. Sometimes a large bamboo mat is tied round the trunk; sometimes bundles of thorns are placed to deter the thief. The owners sometimes live in little leaf-huts built below the trees in order to guard them. The tree is climbed by a long bamboo pole (called *hāja* in Gondi and *thāpa* or *dāng* in Halbi) which hooks on to a branch at the summit. The side-shoots of the pole are not removed and these serve as the steps of the ladder. When not in use it is removed and kept in a house or in some hiding-place in the jungle. Sometimes a large loop is made at the end of the ladder and it fixes on to a bamboo hook (called in Gondi *gotāng* or *bikor*) which is tied to the tree. Once in Gogonda I saw a Maria getting up a very tall salphi tree with great ingenuity. At the foot there was a pole eight feet high fixed in the ground. The climber had to get to the top of this and then, supporting himself upon it with his legs, had to catch the hook twenty feet above him with a long double bamboo pole with a loop at its end. This was no mean feat, and when it was done he had to tie the end of the swinging stick to the pole on which he had been standing and climb up to where he was able to hoist himself to the top of the tree by the branches.

This is the method of extracting the juice. The ends of the flowering spadices are cut and hollow bamboos, gourds or earthen pots are fixed where they can catch the flow of sap. Bamboos or gourds are simply tied to the tree, but a pot may be fixed in position with a couple of poles below it, tied round the trunk and fixed together, supported by a string tied to a bough above. The pot is placed inside a basket and its mouth is tied to the spadix, to the end of which a folded leaf of the *chhind* palm is attached to ensure that the juice trickles down into the pot. A small gourd with a hole at either end is kept in the pot, which is finally protected with a bamboo cover called *māri* to guard it from wind and birds.

When the climber has reached the pot, he removes the leaf and scrapes the end of the cut spadix with a knife that is kept among the branches. Sometimes he rubs it with a little *bhilwa*¹ (marking-nut) juice. Then he removes the sap from the pot and puts it in a gourd tied round his waist. Sometimes, if the tree is very high, he lowers this gourd down to the ground with a cord. Then he replaces the leaf at the end of the spadix, puts the cover over the pot and descends.

There are various rules and customs about the use of the juice. It is not considered good to drink it when it is too sweet, as it has a laxative effect. For this reason a little of the old juice is always left in the pot and this serves to ferment it. To increase its power a little of the root of the *danbaher* tree is added. When the weather is cloudy it is considered that it will not be good. The juice of a newly tapped tree should not be given to a pregnant

¹ *Semecarpus anacardium*, L.F.

woman or she may abort. In fact, at the beginning, when a new tree is tapped only men drink. The Hill Marias do not give it at any time to a woman in her menstrual period.

There is a curious idea that the salphi tree itself is subject to a menstrual period. Every month there is a space of two or three days during which the juice does not flow properly and it is not considered safe at this time to drink even what little there is. So, too, for the first week or so after a new tree is tapped the juice should be avoided, for it is then, they say, like semen. At Phunder, the northern Murias said that the end of the tree's menstrual period is indicated by the presence of a lotus leaf in the pot.

In some villages, the Hill Marias and Murias believe that two Kaina visit the palms. One is Jal Kaina, and is a *motiāri*; the other, Kaudo Kaina, is regarded with characteristic inconsistency as a *chelik*. When Kaudo Kaina comes to play in a tree, the juice is scanty but good; when Jal Kaina comes, the juice flows like a river but it is less potent. Sometimes then a little sand and even fish are found in the pot.

This belief in the fish that get into the pot is widespread. Once in the days of Chaitu Gaita of Alor, a *chelik* climbed a salphi tree and found two *turu* fish and some sand at the bottom of the gourd. At Palli I was told that such fish were "sometimes caught by the Salphi Maiden and taken up into the tree". I have recorded the same idea among the Hill Marias.¹

When a tree is tapped for the first time offerings are made in the north of the State to the Gorga Kaina and in Dantewara to the rat which first discovered the juice, to the earth and to the Gorga Kaina. In some villages a hollow bamboo, full of water, is brought from a stream and leant against the foot of the tree. It is believed that a Kaina lives in this water and probably there is an idea that the tree will give as much juice as there is water in the bamboo. In order to improve the flow of juice the villagers sometimes promise the Gorga Kaina a pig or a chicken.

At Adnar, on the day they first tapped a new tree, the village Gaita (priest), followed by all the villagers, came to its foot. With red and black powder he made a row of three circles, inside each of which he drew a cross. Rice was piled on these crosses and two leaf-cups, full of salphi juice, were placed by them. One pile of rice was for the Gorga Kaina, one for Kaudo Kaina, and one for Mother Earth. The Gaita offered eggs and chickens, first making the chickens eat the rice and then killing them. The juice in the leaf-cups was offered to the Earth Mother and the Kaina and then everyone drank a little. After this the owner was free to tap the tree in the ordinary way.

Failure of the salphi tree may be due either to black magic and witchcraft or to the hostility of one of the Gorga Kaina. The

¹ For somewhat similar traditions, compare S. L. Hora, "Rains of Fishes in India", *JRAS. Beng.*, Vol. xxix (1933), pp. 95ff.

Kaina, if she is not happy in a particular village, may twist the branches at the top of the tree and cause them to wither. It is generally believed that the tree gives the juice for three years "just as a girl can enjoy herself for three years protected by Lingo in the *ghotul*.¹ Then she marries and the juice ceases to flow. The *motiāri* of the salphi tree is afraid of marrying too soon. If we touch the tree with a cloth yellowed by *haldi* (turmeric) it will stop giving juice till the new shoots come, for the shadow of *haldi* is upon it".

For gonorrhoea, a very rare disaster among the aborigines, the sufferer stands below holding a leaf-cup into which a friend pours a little of the juice from the top of the tree. The patient offers a few drops to the Gorga Kaina and then drinks it without allowing it to touch the ground.

The wood of the palm is not usually used for building in Bastar, but the Hill Marias make their *turam* drums out of its hollow dried-up trunk. They also make combs and drum-sticks out of the dry wood.² Some of the Hill Marias make necklaces of the fibre. The leaves are often used as hair-ornaments or to decorate the village dormitories. Sometimes the flowers are pounded into flour, mixed with water and drunk as a sort of gruel. Grigson describes how the Hill Maria women pound the fibrous pith from the interior of the stem on a large flat stone with a heavy oval pebble held in their right hand. "The resultant pith-grain looks like lime and is steamed into cakes. An earthenware pot has a little water poured into it and over the water bamboo sticks are criss-crossed and covered with *siāri* leaves as a platform for the pith to be steamed. No salt or sugar is added."³ I have found the Bison-horn Marias at Gogonda and Marnda doing the same thing.

¹ The Muria have observed a "sterility interval" of three years after the menarche, and attribute it to their cult-hero Lingo's protection.

² Parry gives several ways in which *Caryota urens* is used by the Lakher, but, curiously, does not tell us whether or no they tap the tree for its juice. The Lakher make spear-shafts of the wood, as it is heavy and so flies straight to the mark—N. E. Parry, *The Lakher* (London, 1932), p. 53. The axles of spinning-wheels are also made of it (p. 97), as is a weaver's sword (p. 103). The dried sap of the palm is used as tinder (p. 108). Cord made from the hair-like fibres which grow on the stem is used in tiger-traps (p. 148) and as a violin string (p. 183). The Rengma Nagas regard the wood of the sago palm as "one of the hardest known" and it is much valued for making into spear-shafts. "Indeed tradition still remembers the days when iron was so scarce and valuable that sharpened sticks of this wood had to serve as spears for all except the rich, and very effective they are said to have been"—J. P. Mills, *The Rengma Nagas* (London, 1937), p. 38.

³ Grigson, *op. cit.*, p. 152. Compare Thurston's account of the Kadir of the Anaimalai Hills who use the pith of the sago palm (which they call *kundiha panai*) in much the same way. They cut the trees down close to the ground, break them up into lengths of about one-and-a-half feet and split them lengthwise. "The sections are then beaten very hard and for a long time with mallets, and become separated into fibre and powder. The powder is thoroughly wetted, tied in cloths and well beaten with sticks. Every now and then, between the beatings, the bag of powder is dipped in water, and well strained. It is then all put into water, when the powder sinks, and the

The salphi juice is either brought back to the house and stored there until by fermentation it becomes much more intoxicating than in its fresh condition or it is drunk immediately at the foot of the tree. Little groups of people, generally men, go out to the trees, taking with them roasted crabs or frogs, little bits of chicken, various kinds of chutney, carefully wrapped in leaf-cups. The liquor is drunk from leaves, generally simply folded to make a sort of cup, and it is sometimes poured direct into the mouth. Many delightful hours are thus spent by the villagers out among the woods or on the hills.

When a tree is specially planted by seeds or cuttings it is very carefully tended. A fence of wood is built round it and it is watered regularly. Sometimes a tree is associated with the memory of a particular person. In Kanhargaon, a village in the Chota Dongar area, a Muria planted salphi and mango trees fifty years ago and they still preserve his memory. When the people go in the evening to drink the juice, they offer a few drops in the name of Tallur Muttai and Kadrenal to the salphi tree and a few drops in the name of the dead man who planted the trees to the mango, "so that as we drink you can drink also".

But the drinking of the salphi has a darker side. There are many quarrels about the possession of the trees. Generally speaking, the tree belongs to the man in whose field or garden it is growing. It is where the trees are out in the jungle, or standing in the common land of the village, that disputes easily arise. The headman or the more influential priests generally claim these trees as their own, but there is also a custom that the man who goes to the trouble of tapping the tree, protecting it with thorns, and making a bamboo ladder, has a right over it, especially when it is growing far away in the forest. The trees are not taxed but the villagers are not allowed to sell the juice. Disputes simply arise over the right to take the liquor for personal use and in the last twenty years these have led to several cases of murder.

The salphi juice, however, is not generally so intoxicating as to cause murders in the same degree as landa rice-beer or mahua spirit. Bedford's *Technical Excise Manual* (para. 263) gives some account of the comparative alcoholic strengths of these drinks. "The alcoholic strength of toddy varies according to the nature of the palm tapped, the season of the year, the time for which it has been drawn and other circumstances. The average results of a number of tests made with toddy from all parts of the Madras Presidency were:

water is poured off. The residue is well boiled, with constant stirring, and, when it is of the consistency of rubber and of a reddish brown colour, it is allowed to cool, and then cut in pieces to be distributed. This food-stuff is palatable enough, but very tough"—Thurston, op. cit., Vol. iii, pp. 17f. A very similar method of preparing the inner portion of the bark of the tree is recorded by Gurdon of the Khasis. See P. R. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis* (London, 1914), p. 52.

Percentage by volume.

Cocoanut	..	85.7° U.P.	8.1
Palmyra	..	90.8° U.P.	5.2
Date	..	91.4° U.P.	4.9
Sago	..	89.6° U.P.	5.9

Toddy exposed for sale in Bengal in 1909 was found generally to range in alcoholic strength from about 93° to 94° U.P. When reasonably fresh it has a food value somewhat comparable with that of well-made malt beer."

The strength of country beers (which include landa) made generally from rice or millet varies from about 75° U.P. to 93° U.P. (14.3 to 4.0% by volume) and the average may be taken at about 85° U.P. (8.6% by volume). *Rasi* liquor made of *mahua* is permitted to be sold between the strengths of 50° to 70° U.P. and *phuli* liquor between 15° to 35° U.P., and although the strength of liquor offered for sale at shops in the south of Bastar is stronger than that in the north, the average strength of *rasi* liquor may be taken as 60° U.P. (22.8% by volume) and that of *phuli* as 25° U.P. (42.8% by volume).

But in some cases where people have drunk a large quantity of salphi as well as other kinds of liquor, the combination has been too much for them. They lose control and commit murder, sometimes on the most trivial grounds. For example, Poyami Burta of Killepal drank a large pot full of salphi and killed his elder brother during a quarrel about cattle. He is now in jail for life. Another man, Poyami Lakhma of Lalaguda, murdered his father in 1940 when intoxicated with salphi. Kowachi Chaitu of Takraguda also had drunk landa, mahua and salphi at a ceremony for his newly-born baby in 1941 and being completely drunk he committed murder and has been sentenced to life imprisonment. Mukka, a Hill Maria of Orcha, also drank a great deal of salphi and committed murder. But he has only been imprisoned for three years as there were extenuating circumstances.

The effect of salphi intoxication, however, in promoting murders should not be exaggerated. A total of half a dozen cases in twenty years out of a population of over half a million is not large.

Quarrels about the right to tap the trees have sometimes resulted in murder. One day in 1935 Kadi Hunga of Garmiri found some men out in his fields eating fish and drinking liquor. He accused them of stealing fish from his fish-traps and salphi from his trees and began to beat them. All ran away except one Markami Dorga. Hunga, full of rage, caught hold of him, threw him on the ground and sitting on his body twisted his neck round until he died. In the same year Kartami Aitu was sentenced to death for committing murder in the course of a quarrel over a salphi tree which had been planted by another family and was now claimed by him.

In 1938, Dasru, a Hill Maria of Garpa in the Abujhmar Mountains, caught one Pano climbing his salphi tree to steal the

juice. He shot him in the stomach with his bow and arrow and Pano fell dead to the ground. Two years later three Marias of Paralmeta killed a village headman from whose trees they had been stealing the juice. The headman had caught them at it and had attacked them with an axe and a thorny stick. In the struggle that followed, they killed him and were sentenced to various degrees of imprisonment.

On October 29th, 1934, two Marias came to the house of Kunjami Dora at Pedka village to ask whether they could get salphi juice in exchange for rice. He told them that there was none in that village, but that they could get it from Hundami Muka at Kondasawli and offered to guide them to the place. It was evening and a little before sunset they reached a group of trees at the base of a ridge of hills, five miles from their destination. The trees here did not belong to any particular person, but whoever was tapping them claimed them as his own. It happened that one of the trees belonged to Hundami Muka. The party decided to camp there for the night. The two strangers busied themselves cooking food. Dora searched for the ladder and finding it climbed the tree and brought down a pot full of liquor. They drank it and presently were sitting round the fire, warmed and cheered by the refreshing juice. Suddenly Muka appeared in the circle of fire-light armed with his bow and arrow and shot Dora with so expert an aim that he died at once. The Sessions Judge considered that the sight of these three men drinking his juice was so strong a provocation that the murderer did not deserve a capital sentence.

There was an interesting case in 1922 at Gudse. The tree of a Maria named Hunga suddenly stopped giving juice. The village magician Kosa was consulted and he declared that a man named Pandu had spoilt the tree by his magic. A few days after this Pandu and Kosa met in the local liquor shop; Pandu fell into a violent fit of temper, pulled out some of his pubic hairs, threw them on Kosa's head and abused him and his god. In return Kosa hit him on the face. For five months Pandu brooded over this insult and finally killed Kosa by shooting him with an arrow in the stomach.

I have mentioned these cases because of their intrinsic interest, not because they prove anything. The salphi tree and its juice is but one of the countless objects of human desire for which men have robbed and murdered through the centuries. It is not surprising that there should have been a number of quarrels over these trees: it is rather surprising that the number of quarrels should have been so small. For to the aboriginal, who has so few treasures, this pleasant tree with its enchanting and refreshing juice, is a great sweetener of existence.

PROPERTY CONCEPTS AMONG THE NIMAR BALAHIS

By STEPHEN FUCHS

At a time, when the property concepts of the civilized world undergo such revolutionary changes, it is worth while to study the property concepts of the primitives, for they live close to nature, whose principles are always sound and healthy. Nature should form the basic laws of the, even most complicated, property concepts of the modern times. The primitive laws and customs in regard to property are necessarily often rudimentary and undeveloped for the one reason that the primitives lack the many forms of property which highly developed cultures deem indispensable to man. However, even the most primitive property concepts include certain essential forms of property, as individual property, clan or family property, and are conscious of certain immutable rules and laws, in regard to acquisition, use and disposal of property, be it now individual or collective property (cf. W. Schmidt: *Das Eigentum auf den ältesten Stufen der Menschheit*, Muenster, 1937, pp. 281-319). The study of these primitive property concepts will be useful to disclose the basic laws of nature in regard to property and help towards the solution of one of the most complicated and important problems of the modern times.

The following study intends to examine the property concepts of the Nimar Balahis, a caste which still shows the original structures of primitive property concepts, although it has, through long contact with high caste Hindus, adopted their more complicated forms of property.

The Balahis are a lower caste of weavers and village servants in the Nimar district of the Central Provinces and the adjoining Holcar State. Their racial origin is so far still uncertain, but it is probable that they belong to the large Kori caste of weavers of the United Provinces (R. V. Russell-Hiralal: *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, Vol. II, p. 105, London, 1916). The Balahis are in their majority very poor and cannot call much their own. The average Balahi lives on what he can earn as a daily labourer in the fields, or as a weaver at his loom, and that is usually little enough. Often it happens, at times of scarcity of work or in sickness, that he can afford only one meal a day. However, not all Balahis live in such destitute conditions, some are better off and even possess field property. And there are times of the year, when even the poorest Balahi has enough to fill his ever-hungry stomach and, if of saving character, can store some grain or money for the times of unemployment or sickness. Thus it is not surprising that the Balahis have quite distinct ideas about property and ownership.

1. THE *PANCHAYAT* PROPERTY.

The Balahis have no Communistic tendencies in regard to property and ownership, although they could only gain considerably by an equal distribution of the world's riches. Nor is it a trend to a sort of caste Communism that, as a rule, Balahis show a remarkable aversion to trade with their own caste fellows. Weavers, for instance, prefer to sell the products of their handicraft to a merchant rather than to a fellow Balahi. The reason is that they get ready cash from the merchant, whereas a Balahi seldom pays at once to a caste fellow. Then, he also tries to take advantage of his caste fellowship in fixing the lowest possible price when buying from a fellow Balahi. Loans, given to caste fellows, should be given without interest, so the custom demands. But naturally, nobody takes the chance to lose his money without demanding the usual high rate of interest. And the chance of losing is indeed great, in case a Balahi gives a loan to a caste fellow, because he is much handicapped in applying to the law, if the debtor fails to pay back. If he goes to Court, the other Balahis call him a bloodsucker and feel inclined to make life difficult for him. Only a man who is not reluctant to take the law into his own hands will get his money back. There are such men in some Balahi villages, but they usually do not give loans without high rates of interest, which they exact under threats of force, if necessary. If they are not able to use force themselves, they often employ Mohammedans who, against a small remuneration, are willing to beat a debtor who does not pay. But these cases are exceptions; as a rule, Balahis avoid money transactions with their own caste fellows for the above-mentioned reasons.

Yet the Balahis have a kind of collective ownership, the so-called *Panchayat* property. The caste community of a village (*panch*, *panchayat*) is the collective owner of this property. The Balahis, as untouchables, are not allowed to draw water from the public wells. Thus they are obliged to sink their own wells. This is usually an affair of the caste community. At a *panch* meeting the decision is taken to dig a new well. The headman of the *panch* is commissioned to collect a certain amount of money from every family of the village and to arrange the hours of work for each man. Whoever fails to pay or to work, is excluded from the use of the well after its completion. Also the cleaning or repair of an old well is managed by the whole village community, everybody jealously seeing to an equal distribution of the expenses or work among the caste fellows.

Besides wells, also guest-houses (dharmshalas) are sometimes built in this manner. Every respectable village community owns also special cooking pots and utensils for their caste banquets. Musical instruments as drums or the *sing* (a typical Balahi wind instrument resembling a French horn) are also quite often property of the *panchayat*. Such a property is sometimes the gift of a generous

man of the community, but more often the money required for its purchase has been raised by a collection, decided upon by a *panch* meeting. Sometimes the *panch* uses the money due for a caste banquet for buying such useful commodities.

The use of the *panchayat* property is strictly limited to community affairs. It is generally kept in the custody of the headman of the *panchayat*. Its repair, sale or any other disposal of it is subject to the consent of the whole Balahi village community.

In villages near to the forest, the Balahis are often in common possession of a hunting net. Generally, the Balahis are poor hunters; they are only good in catching small deer, hares or rabbits with the help of such nets. Whatever the hunters catch, is divided to equal parts among the men who took part in the hunt. Thus it is often not much, what the single man gets, if two or three rabbits have to be divided between ten to fifteen hunters! And they are lucky if the net belongs to the village community; for if it is private property, the owner of the net will also demand his share, even if he did not take part in the hunting. Besides, the *kotwar* (village watchman) in strength of his official position usually also asks for a share of the hunter's bag. He gets, as a rule, the stomach and the entrails of the deer which has been caught.

2. KINSHIP PROPERTY.

The Balahi caste consists of a number of different clans, which are made up of different family groups, kinship groups, with a common grandfather or great-grandfather as head. Kinsmen are supposed to help each other to a great extent. Although they may live in separate households and have no legal claim on each other's property, it is an unwritten law of the caste that poorer relatives have a certain right to expect help from a kinsman who is better off than they are. Such a man is expected to give loans without charging any interest and without much hope of ever being repaid. The wealthy relative is often asked to pay the marriage expenses for a poor nephew or niece, or cousin, a deed which is considered to be very meritorious. He is visited by his needy relatives who, under the pretence of working for him, help him to finish off his grain store, his money and his wardrobe. It is a Balahi custom that a guest is treated as such for three days, after this time he has to go away or to work for his living. However, nobody expects him to work as hard as a servant, and therefore very few do work properly.

There is, however, no doubt to the ownership of property among the members of a kinship group. Whatever the individual man has earned or inherited, is his unquestioned property. But the use of his property is not entirely his own business. His relatives too want to have a say in it. The proper owner is thus little more than a trustee to his property, and its rightful disposal will be shared more or less by other relatives. This system is, of course,

not favourable to a ruthless accumulation of riches—even if that would be possible for a Balahi on other reasons. But it has also its certain disadvantages: it accounts to a large extent for the lack of personal enterprise and industry among the Balahis. What is the use of working for more but the bare necessities of life, if the other relatives will take advantage of it? And why take so much trouble and work, if other relatives are supposed to lend their help in times of need and distress? This is often the mentality of the Balahis, fostered by such a system of mutual assistance among kinsmen.

3. FAMILY PROPERTY.

A Balahi family consists usually not only of husband, wife and their children, it comprises as a rule also the families of the married sons. It is more or less a family group. The owner of all the property of a family is the head of the family group. The property of fields and fruit trees is, of course, subject to the laws and customs of the district where the Balahis live. These laws differ widely in *malguzari* and *ryotwari* villages, in the Central Provinces and in the Native States (Holcar State). Within the premises of the house, however, everything, though it may be in common use of all the members of a family, is the undisputed property of the head of the family. No exception is made with the property which his wife might have brought into the house. Not only cattle, cooking vessels, also her jewels become at once the property of her husband who may dispose of this property without her consent. However, her dowry cannot be retained by her husband's family, when she returns to her own family after her husband's death or a divorce. But what she earns by her own exertion, working in the fields, her own or of the landlord, belongs to her husband. The ornaments he gives her are hers for the wearing only. If she leaves her husband or returns after his death to her own family, she cannot take anything along but the clothes on her body and her dowry. Nor can she give anything away without the consent of her husband, not even to her own sons or daughters.

But a woman often conceals a part of her earnings for the days when the family is badly in need of it. Or she provides beforehand for the days of her own widowhood, should her husband die before her; or else for the expenses of her own funeral banquet, in case she is to die first. Not seldom it happens that, by breaking down an old house, silver coins are found under the debris of the mud walls. The money had been hoarded there by a providing housewife, but by a strange event or a sudden death she was unable to make use of the money or to reveal its hiding-place, to the happy surprise of a later descendant of the family or another owner of the house.

It must, however, be maintained that a woman cannot save much in the first years of her married life, for during this time her husband will well take care of her earnings. But when she has

grown old and lives as a widow in more or less independence, or is supported by grown-up children who do not depend on her earnings, only then will she be able to save a considerable sum. However, in theory her saving is considered unlawful, for as long as her husband lives, is she dependent on him. After his death the eldest son takes charge of the property and everything she herself earns. But in practice this custom of secret saving is so common among the Balahi women that every old woman is expected to have some hidden treasure and is worried on her death-bed to disclose its whereabouts.

As long as the sons and daughters of a family live in the house of their father, everything whatever they earn must be handed over to him. Sons who start a separate household, when the father is still alive, have no claim on any property but what is willingly given to them by their father. However, they may take along the dowry of their wives, which cannot be withheld from them. A separation from the father's household is often the result of a quarrel between father and sons, or between the sons alone. Often scarcity of work in the native village makes the breaking-up of a joint family necessary; the adult sons go to another village, where they are likely to get work, and stay there. The Balahis are to their great majority no independent land-owners, but have to look for work, wherever it is offered to them. The weavers among them are more independent, and their work favours a joint family household, as the preparatory work which precedes the actual weaving on the loom demands the co-operation of several members of a family. When a son intends to found his own household, he will secretly keep a part of his earning for himself, long before he actually leaves his father's house. This his saving will enable him to carry on for the beginning, even if his father refuses to give him any help. Or else he will have to take a loan from the money-lender or his employer, which is bad, but only too frequent a beginning.

A married daughter, who returns for a temporary visit to her father's house, cannot keep for herself the money which she earns during that time. She has to give it to her father who feeds her. But her father may let her keep these earnings, although he is in no way bound to do so.

Daughters, married or unmarried, have no right of inheritance, if sons are alive. But the father may give them presents of silver ornaments or even, occasionally, of cattle. This, however, is given only in form of a present, not as a legacy after his death. It is the eldest son who inherits everything. He takes the place of his father as long as his brothers live with him in a joint household. The eldest son has also to support his mother and his unmarried brothers and sisters, and to arrange for their marriage. If no sons of the family are alive, a daughter may inherit the family property, especially if her husband has served for her before the marriage (*ghar jawai*) and has married into the house. He then takes charge of the family property.

If two or more brothers with their families live together, they have everything in common. Their wives take turns in their household duties. One cooks the meal, while the other grinds the grain and a third one might clean the house and stable. The following day or week they change. Of course, the amount of work depends also on the season of the year: when the field work presses, one woman might stay at home to do the home work, while the others go to the fields for work. If it happens that the one or other of the women is lazy and neglects her duties, it gives cause to endless quarrels and jealousy between the women of a joint household.

The eldest brother is the master of the house. He keeps the money, the silver ornaments and any other treasures in his custody. He gives the orders for work, if necessary. To retain his authority and to avoid jealousy among his brothers, he must be strictly impartial. His brothers even expect that he takes the heavier part of the work on his own shoulders and be more generous towards his younger brother's families than his own. Indeed, at least the youngest brother is often treated as a pet child and his elder brothers are frequently so fond of him that they give him whatever he wants and exempt him from all heavy work.

A common household saves a lot of expenses. In a large family less is wasted and gets spoiled than in a small household. Fields and cattle can be better taken care of with the co-operation of the other members of the family. They work better and cheaper than servants. On market days only one man needs to go to the bazaar to buy the necessary provision, while the others can stay at home and work. Even the money-lenders give a loan easier and under better conditions. They are sure to get their money back, if not from the man who borrowed it, then from his brothers.

It is, however, seldom that brothers live for long together under the same roof. Usually they separate soon after their father's death. Jealousy and endless quarrels make such a separation necessary. In case of a separation everything is divided among the brothers in equal parts. The eldest brother may get a bigger share, if the younger brothers consent to it. This division does not include the property which the wives of the brothers have brought into the family. This dowry—silver ornaments, cattle or cooking pots—goes with the owners, although it may formerly have been in common use in the joint household.

If the mother is still alive, she may choose the son with whom she wants to stay. He and also the one who takes charge of the unmarried brothers and sisters get a bigger share of the inheritance, corresponding to their expenses. If the mother wants to stay independently, she too gets her share which at her death is again divided equally among her sons. If one of the brothers dies without offspring, his property is also divided in equal parts between the brothers. But this is only the case if his wife returns to her family. If she remains single, having children to support, all the property

remains with her. But if the widow wants to remarry, she must leave her children with the family of her late husband. They are adopted by one of the brothers. Only a child at the breast is she allowed to take to her new home. And all the property of her late husband goes to his brothers; she cannot take anything along, except her dowry.

When the division of the inheritance takes place, nothing will be overlooked. The house is partitioned off into equally big rooms by walls with a separate entrance. If, however, the house is not big enough for such a partition, the eldest brother may retain the house, but he must give his younger brothers enough space in the courtyard to build another house, or, at least, to build another addition to the old house. This is often the reason why the Balahis live in such overcrowded quarters and in such diminutive rooms or huts.

Fields and fruit trees too are equally divided among the brothers. The lots of a field are divided, till they are often too small for a proper cultivation. And fruit trees, usually mango or mahua trees, are closely guarded at the time of ripening, that none of the share-holders may take his part in advance. As soon as the fruits are ripe, the share-holders come together and take the fruits off, and then the distribution takes place. But not only fields, fruit trees and houses are thus divided among the members of the family, also the money, furniture, cattle and the silver ornaments of the women. Often the distribution of the inheritance is easier made than it looks, there is usually so little in a Balahi house to be divided or inherited.

4. INDIVIDUAL PROPERTY.

In a Balahi household there is not much left of exclusive individual property. Clothes and shoes may be counted as such. But they too are often used by other members of the family. In a common household the consent of the owner may be presumed, if anyone wants to use his clothes or shoes. But if the relatives live separately, they will ask before taking one another's things.

Ornaments and jewels of the womenfolk are no private property of theirs, but more an investment of money. In times of need they are pawned by the money-lender as a security for a loan, or they are sold at the current silver price. This usually involves the loss of money, for at the time of the purchase the buyer pays also for the work of the silversmith who produced the ornament; while at the sale of the ornament only the value of the silver is taken into account, not the art of the silversmith.

The only thing which a Balahi may consider his exclusive property is his wife. How often does the Balahi express his conviction with emphasis: "*Mera mal hei!*—She is my property!" And that she is in fact! He, or his father for him, has paid for her the bride-price, amounting roughly to the price of a water-buffalo.

According to the Balahi custom, he may treat her as he likes, nobody has a right to interfere. He may beat her with impunity, starve her, make her work while he sits at home idly—his wife cannot accuse him before the *panch* (village council), nor can anybody interfere. If, in consequence of such treatment, his wife runs away, he will try to get her back; but if this is impossible, he can demand the return of the bride-price. The woman is not free and cannot be remarried, until a certain amount of compensation is paid to her former husband.

It is also said that not seldom a Balahi, dissatisfied with his wife, makes arrangement to sell her to another Balahi, or to any other man who is willing to pay a good price for her. On a bazaar day the man takes his wife along to the market, and at a given moment hands her over to the man who wants her. As price for his wife he gets a certain amount of money, a pair of bullocks or a water-buffalo.

If a woman elopes with another man, the former husband gets a certain compensation and usually must be content with it. Especially in bazaar villages such cases do occur repeatedly. For instance: some time ago there lived at Khandwa a Balahi with a pretty wife. A Mohammedan wanted to marry her. He asked her husband to cede her to him. The Balahi refused at first, but then he succumbed to the continuous threats of the Mohammedan and the entreaties of his wife, who herself advised him to give her free. He got a water-buffalo and Rs.15 in the bargain.

Sometimes the parents make a bargain of their daughters. When a married daughter of theirs returns to her home for a visit, they give her quietly away to another man who pays in cash on the spot. The consent of the young woman is not required for such a transaction. She is the property of her husband or—if divorced or widowed—of her parents or brothers. When a widow remarries, the new husband has to pay the bride-price for her not to the family of her late husband, but to her parents or brothers. The bride-price for a widow or a divorced woman is two to three times as high as the price for an unmarried girl, because, the Balahis reason, she is more valuable as a worker than a young girl.

5. MENTAL PRODUCTS.

The Balahis do not consider mental products as songs, poems, mantras and riddles as the individual property of the composer. According to their point of view such compositions have no monetary value at all. From the moment that they are sung in public, anyone, who can remember them, can use them. The composer or poet gets no remuneration whatsoever, only his name will be mentioned, if he took care to include it in the last verses of the song. Songs may also be altered freely or more verses added to the singer's pleasure and ability. No copyright exists, and plagiarism is not considered a theft. Mantras (charms) can be kept secret with

less difficulty. If they are considered of magical value and efficient, they will not be revealed to others without a handsome remuneration.

5. EXCHANGE OF GOODS.

(a) *Donations.*

Presents of value are rarely given except to relatives on the occasion of certain feasts. Guests, invited for a marriage or funeral banquet, bring a more or less valuable present along, so the Balahi etiquette demands. Frequently, relatives and friends are presented with gifts of fruits or specially prepared dishes of sweetmeat. Needy relatives and servants, whom only a few Balahis can afford to employ, are given grain or clothes occasionally. Beggars go seldom away without a small gift. In asking something from one another, the Balahis prefer an indirect advance to the thing in demand. They avoid to ask point-blank for anything. Balahis who are asked immediately after they have come: "What do you want?" reply invariably: "Nothing!" Only after a long detour will they come to the point. Once I forgot myself and asked a Balahi, before he had time to sit down, what he wanted. He answered: "Sahib, don't talk in this way with me. I cannot tell it straight away. Let me first sit down and have a chat. So it is our custom". I smiled, sat down and waited at least outwardly patiently, till the man found the right psychological moment to present his request. Although the Balahis are not at all bashful in demanding favours and help of all kind, they always try to state their requests pleasantly put in an indirect form. Often they send a go-between, or bring some friends along, who will plead for them.

It is considered as wanting in courtesy to refuse a request with a simple direct "NO!". Such an answer makes a man lose his face, a serious insult even for a Balahi. But they take it cheerfully, if the refusal is pleasantly wrapped in an excuse, deferring the granting of a request to a later date. They perfectly understand the meaning of it, but they like to pose.

Another subtle method of expressing one's desire for a thing is to extol and to praise it before its owner. If he is not willing to take the hint, he will belittle the value of the thing in question or find any other excuse why he cannot give it away. This explains also why the Balahis dislike it so much when their children's beauty or strength is praised. They believe this to be an expression of envy and evil-wishing. They fear that their children will get sick and even die, as if a spell would be placed on their children by such ill-applied praise. They are firmly convinced that they can, by expressing a strong desire for a thing owned by somebody else, throw a spell on it and make the owner lose it.

Hospitality is offered to friends and relatives for three days. After three days a guest is expected to leave or to work for his meals.

(b) *Sale and purchase.*

Although the Balahis have seldom anything for sale and buy little more than their scanty provision at the weekly market, the bazaar has great attraction for them. They take a great delight in an endless bargaining. Some go to the bazaar without intending to buy anything, but for the pleasure to assist others in a bargain. It is often a blessing for them that their wages are mostly paid in grain by their employers, so that they never have much money in their hands. For they usually cannot keep money long in their pockets, their fingers itch to spend it. If some money is left after the purchase of food-stuff and clothes, they like to buy some sweets or toys for their children, or bangles and ornaments for their women. A big amount of money is never kept in the house, but soon laid out for the purchase of silver ornaments or bullocks. The Balahis do not believe in investing their money in a bank. Their saving bank consists in jewels and bullocks. The jewels are handed over to the money-lenders as a security in times of need. The bullocks are sold or exchanged for cheaper ones, if only a small sum is required, the difference is to be paid in cash.

Some Balahis are extremely clever in trading with bullocks. In possession of a small capital, they buy bullocks and try to sell them to a higher price. Others are employed by cattle traders for such transactions against a small commission. Giving themselves the airs of a poor simple peasant, they are usually quite successful in striking a good bargain with the unsuspecting farmers.

(c) *Thefts and robbery.*

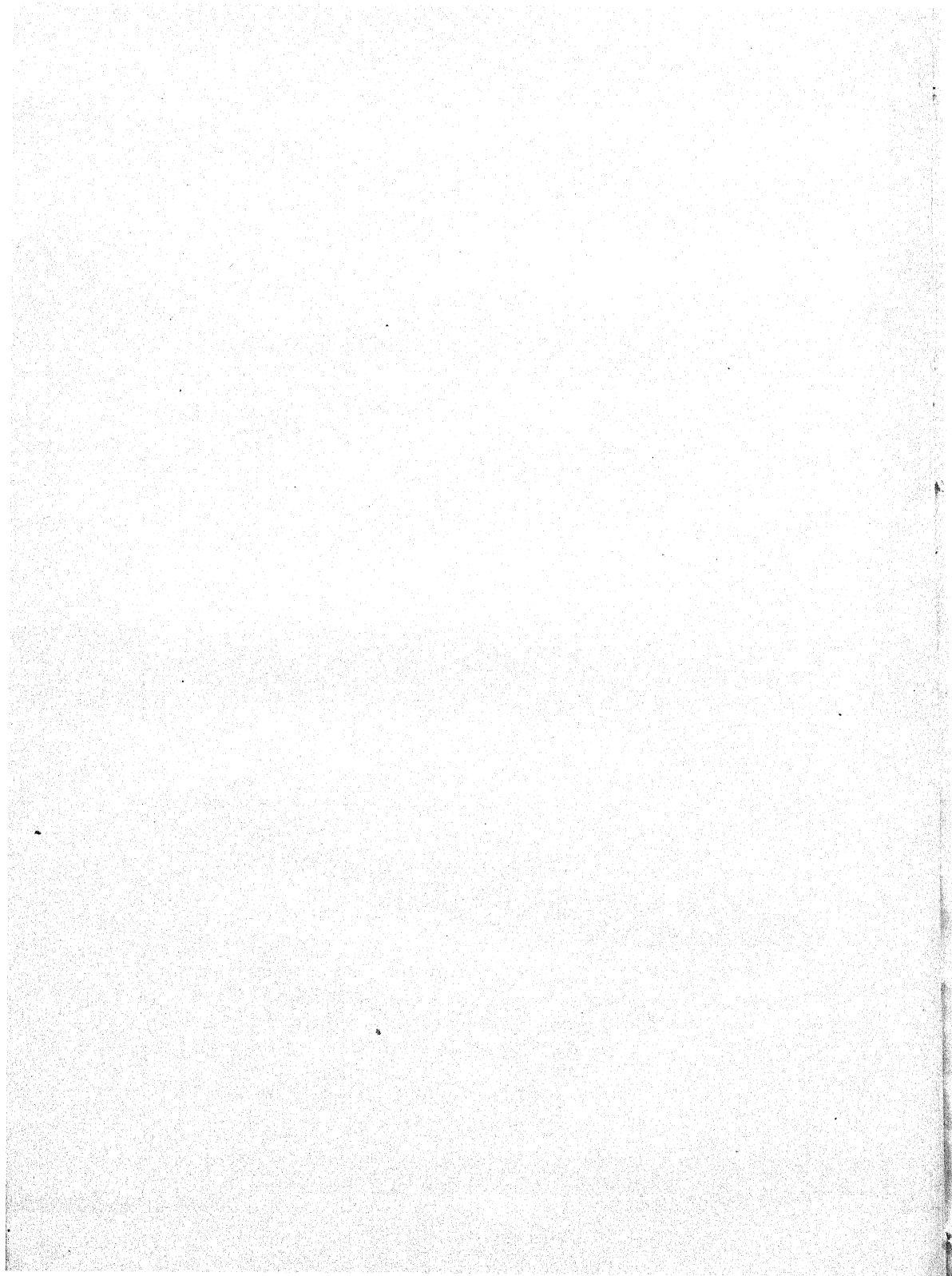
The Balahis as a whole are a law-abiding people. Especially averse to any deed of violence, robbery and house-breaking are nearly unheard of them. But stealing is something quite different! Without doubt the Balahis show a certain weakness in this regard. It is mainly field fruits that they steal: millet (joari), wheat, cotton, grass, agricultural tools, and whatever else is of value and use for them. In fact, their wages are often so low, or unjustly withheld by their employers, that they are in a way often forced to take sometimes such a little secret compensation, whenever the opportunity is offered.

Some Balahis have a bad reputation as bazaar thieves. They go in small groups to a shop and, while the group tries to occupy the attention of the shopkeeper, the most clever man among them takes his chance and grabs whatever he can get. It goes without saying that he is left to his fate by his companions if the theft is discovered. But if he is successful, the booty is divided among the whole party.

The Balahi does not find fault in keeping what he finds by a good chance. If the gods would not want him to keep it, they would not have made the owner lose it, so he argues! Only if the

owner detects him as the lucky finder, will he return the lost thing, but seldom without a remuneration.

The Balahi's attitude towards property and ownership is certainly somewhat different from what prevails in Western conceptions. But without doubt, in the whole his property concepts are more healthy and wholesome than the modern extreme ideas of Capitalism or Communism. Although a real owner of his property, the Balahi does not consider it his exclusive right to dispose of his property at his own whim and will. His outlook is not so egotistical that he does not feel himself to a certain degree a holder of property in the service of others. Although his altruism is more or less limited to his caste and kinship, it is the more remarkable, because the Balahi does not give from an ample sufficiency of his own, but from the little which keeps himself and his family from starvation. Yet more, he is even ready to share his last humble meal with his relatives and caste fellows.



THE PURUṢA-SŪKTA (R̥gveda X. 90) AND THE MYSTIC GLORIFICATION OF THE HUMAN VICTIM

By A. P. KARMARKAR

It cannot be gainsaid that the R̥gveda is the first cultural document of the Aryans—a work which so wonderfully conveys the history of peoples whether Aryan or non-Aryan. Besides being the carrier of historical traditions, the R̥gveda also shows how the incorporation of many of the ideas of the proto-Indians was being slowly aimed at by the Aryan immigrants. The Puruṣa-Sūkta, in our opinion, is one of the hymns which has been written mainly with the purpose of depicting the mystic glorification of the human victim sacrificed in days of yore. However, we shall first proceed to trace the contents of the Puruṣa-Sūkta.

THE PURUṢA-SŪKTA.

Without going into the details of the whole hymn, we might say in the words of Sir S. Radhakrishnan, "In the Puruṣa-Sūkta, we find that the Gods are the agents of creation, while the material out of which the world is made is the body of the great Puruṣa. The act of creation is treated as a sacrifice in which Puruṣa is the victim. 'Puruṣa is all the world, which has been and shall be.'"¹ From the different parts of his body, again, are said to have originated the four castes.

The Gods are described to have proposed the sacrifice with Puruṣa as their offering (6). It should also be noted that along with Puruṣa were sacrificed the Sādhyas and Ṛsis. Later on it is said:

"Seven fencing-sticks had he, thrice seven layers of fuel were prepared, when the Gods, offering sacrifice, bound as their victim Puruṣa (15).

"Gods sacrificing sacrificed their victim: these were the earliest holy ordinances.

"The mighty ones attained the height of heaven, there where the Sādhyas, Gods of old, are dwelling" (16).

PURUṢA-SŪKTA AND HUMAN SACRIFICE.

Thus, as can be seen from above, the hymn while showing the all-pervading characteristic of Puruṣa, "born from Virāj, which was born from him", is at the same time depicted as a victim who was sacrificed by the Gods.

¹ Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, I, p. 104.

The Aryans, since originally, seem to have keenly disliked the system of human sacrifice. Such an indication is shown by the bare account of the prayer of Śunaḥśepa, detailed in the Rgveda, to Varuṇa to save him from his bonds (pāśa). This seems to have been the original of the later story of Hariścandra, related in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and later literature, wherein Śunaḥśepa is shown to have been selected as a victim. Further, the fact that the names of Vrātya, Māgadha and Puṁścali are included in the list of victims to be sacrificed, in the famous chapter on Puruṣamedha in the Yajurveda, clearly shows the general tendency of the Aryan bards against this cult practised by the original inhabitants of India.

Thus looking at the Puruṣa-Sūkta from this double-angle, one may find how the Aryans were trying to cut the Gordian Knot with the aid of their double-edged sword. And eventually, what is pointed out in the hymn is partly an attempt towards the Aryanization of the early notion lying behind the idea of human sacrifice, namely, to "reach Heaven, where the Sādhyas reside"; and partly towards the mystic glorification of the human victim, who is already sacrificed. The human victim is identified with the Primeval Being Himself, from whom the whole world is said to have been created.

In corroboration of this statement, we may just cite the instance of the Ēkavrātya, who is extolled in the Atharvaveda (Book xv). The Vrātya according to us was a Dravidian religious mendicant.¹ And what is pointed out in the Atharvaveda is nothing but a mystic glorification of this Vrātya, who stands therein identified with Mahādeva, the Great God, from whom the whole world is created, and to whom all the other Gods act in subordination.

That the Puruṣa-Sūkta acts as a reminiscence of the old idea of human sacrifice becomes clear also from the other data which we shall see presently.

NON-ARYAN INFLUENCE IN THE PURUṢA-SŪKTA.

The Mohenjo Daro inscriptions and representations obtaining on the seals clearly point out that the system of human sacrifice was prominently in vogue among the proto-Dravidians. On one of the seals is represented the scene of seven persons just kept ready for being offered in sacrifice.² Further, the various inscriptions (with the exception of one) relate that the number of victims to be sacrificed was generally seven or a multiple of seven.³ To quote an instance or two:

¹ Cf. Karmarkar, *The Vrātyas in Ancient India*, Section I, *Summaries of Papers* read before the Indian History Congress, 1941.

² *A.S.I. Report*, 1928-29, Pl. XXVIII, No. G.

³ Heras, *The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People according to inscriptions*, *Journal of the University of Bombay*, V, i, pp. 23f.

- (1) "Of the seven of the united countries who died in the country."¹
- (2) "Of the death of twenty-one counted Minas of outside the country who were in the house."²

Thus the number seven attained a certain significance even from this point of view.

OTHER DATA.

That the number of victims sacrificed was generally seven becomes clear from various other evidences. The Atharvaveda clearly states that seven were the victims offered to Rudra. Further, some of the Megalithic tombs in Southern India happen to contain the bodies of seven persons.³ Above all, it is stated in the History of Herodotus that Croesus, the king of the Lydians, was thrown alive on a burning funeral pile along with fourteen prisoners.⁴ This was evidently in the pre-Zoroastrian period. Zoroaster is later said to have stopped this method of "burning".

The story of the origin of the Chitpāvan Brahmins is interesting in this connection. The original Brahmins are said to have been revived by Paraśurāma from fourteen burning funeral piles. This was evidently the reminiscence of the old system of human sacrifice. The story may also throw light on the antiquity of the Chitpāvans.

Add to this, it is stated in the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa that Lalitā-devī wore a garland of seven skulls of the Āsuras.⁵

Thus all these evidences point out one fact beyond doubt, namely, that the number seven was absolutely significant especially in regard to the human sacrifice in ancient India.

The Puruṣa-Sūkta also leaves a slight indication to this effect, when it states:

Seven fencing-sticks had he, *thrice seven layers of fuel* were prepared, when the Gods, offering sacrifice, bound as their victim Puruṣa (15).

Further, it is stated in the hymn that "these were the earliest holy ordinances" (16). To what period does this remark refer—especially in view of the fact that the Aryans were not so much in favour of the system of human sacrifice?

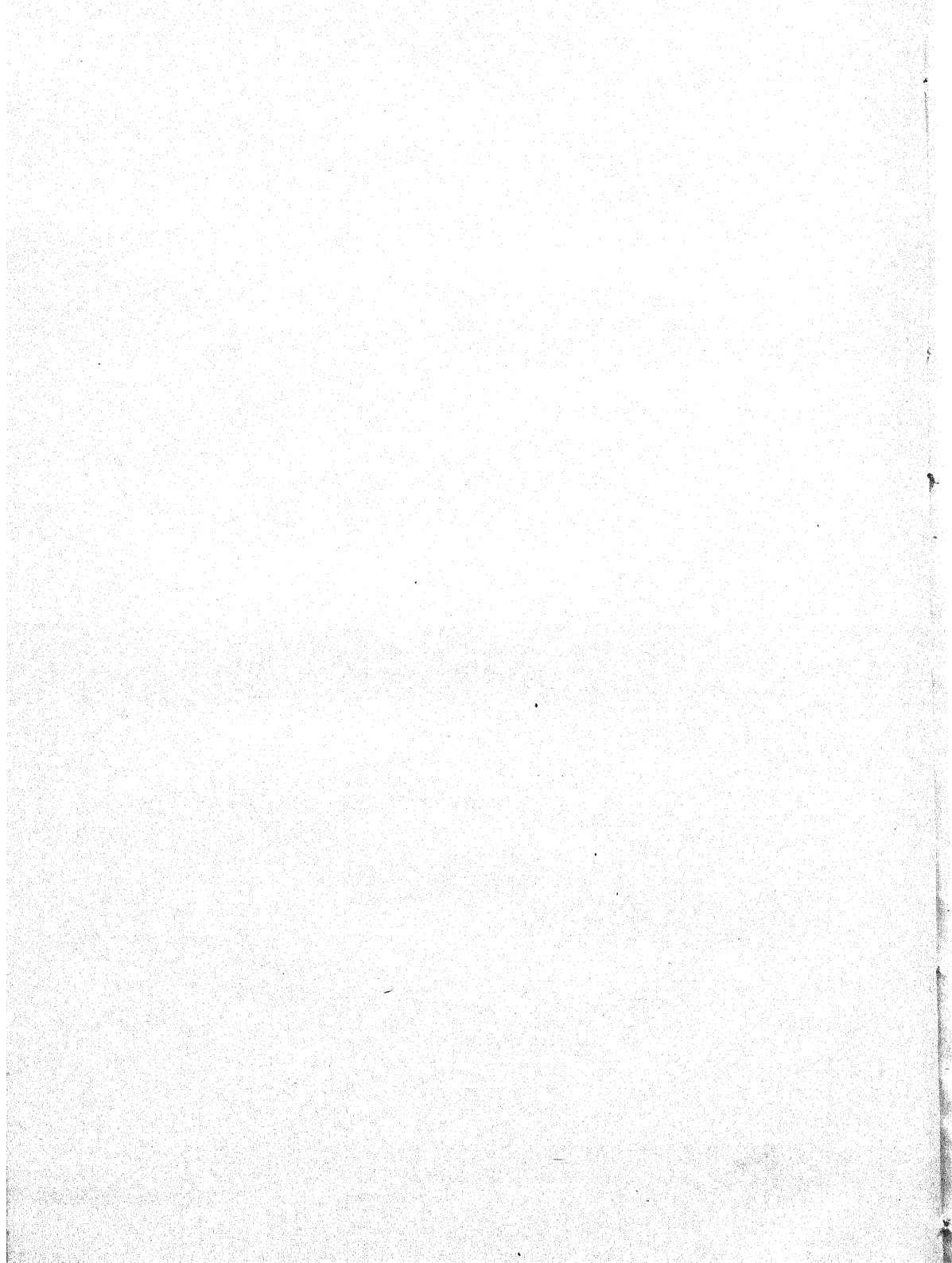
¹ Marshall, M.D., No. 146.

² Ibid., M.D., No. 553.

³ Hunt, "Hyderabad Cairn Burials and their Significance", *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, LIV, p. 148.

⁴ *Herodotus*, Chap. I, 86, Transl. by G. Rawlinson, Vol. I, p. 44 (Everyman's Library Edition).

⁵ *Uttarādhyaṃya*, Adh. x. 24.



REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, by Agha Mahdi Husain. 1938. Pp. xvi+264. Luzac & Co., London.

This is an able attempt to do justice to one of the most maligned of the Sultans of Delhi. It was singularly unfortunate that our knowledge of Muḥammad bin Tughluq should have been hitherto derived entirely through unsympathetic sources, viz. the writings of unfriendly chroniclers, if not of his actual enemies. The discovery by the present writer of an autobiography of the Sultan should therefore be regarded as an event in the annals of historiography inasmuch as by affording an insight into his real character and policy it has led to a reversal of the general verdict hitherto accepted, and to his rehabilitation among the most capable of Indian rulers.

It is needless to pass in review the contents of a book, which having been published five years ago has, in the hands of successive generations of students, already become the standard work on Muḥammad bin Tughluq. The following pages are merely an attempt to assess the author's contribution towards the solution of a problem or two of Mediaeval History. The author says in the preface that the work is an endeavour to clear misunderstandings on the character of Muslim rule in India, and in particular to combat the view that the lot of the Hindus under that rule was one of "hewers of wood and drawers of water" to their Muslim masters. While commending his laudable object to correct the impression which a student of Mediaeval India is likely to obtain from Sarkar's delineation of the Muslim State, which is admittedly a severe indictment of the Muslim domination, it may be questioned if the author has achieved it by pointing to the good treatment of the Hindus under a sovereign who, if anything, was notorious for his unorthodoxy, and who, as the author himself admits, "suffered amply for his free thought and rationalism" at the hands of religious-minded Muslims. Not that the contention is wholly untrue. The Muslims in Mediaeval India were at best a dominant minority, and so it was not practicable even for the most orthodox of Sultans strictly to enforce the *shar'* in his kingdom. This was specially so in regard to the position of the non-Muslims as *dhimmis*, a position which, while guaranteeing them, under certain conditions, security of life and property and even perhaps a measure of religious freedom, denied them equality of status. There is thus a great amount of truth in the saying attributed to Sultan Jalāl-ud-din, that "All along the course of history the Hindus have been practising idolatry and have been freely celebrating their religious rites . . ." But the essential difference in relation to status

continued to be maintained with more or less rigour, a circumstance which, as Sir Jadunath Sarkar has rightly observed, was greatly responsible for the deterioration of the Hindu character. For it must be noted that not even a subject people can live by bread alone.

Accordingly, prescind from the difference which the twentieth century makes to the life of the individual, with its amenities undreamt of in the middle ages, it is hardly conceivable, if an Indian non-Muslim of our day would agree to change places with his co-religionist in a Mediaeval Muslim State, such as the Delhi Sultanate or the Mughal Empire, with its persistent tendency to become confessional. However, it must be admitted that Islam did bring about an amelioration in the condition of the dissidents. For while in Hindu India the rule was inequality and intolerance so far as dissidents from the State religion were concerned,¹ the Muslims were responsible for the introduction of a new legal theory which, while allowing toleration to the dissidents, denied them equal status.

The author throws welcome light on the much-disputed question of Vijayanagara origins, for it may be said with truth that it was from the ashes of the Tughluq Empire in the south that the great Vijayanagara Empire arose. Of the two theories of its origin which should now be designated as the Hoysala and the Kampili theory in preference to the old style of Kanarese and Telugu,² the new material indicated by the author goes to confirm the latter.³ Broadly speaking, the facts of the case seem to have been as follows: on the fall of Kampili to Muhammad bin Tughluq,⁴ Harihara and Bukka along with other officers of Kampila-dēva (here loosely called by Ibn Battūṭa the sons of Kampila⁵) were made

¹ I have tried to prove this with reference to various phases of Ancient Indian History in an article to the *Examiner*, November 9, 1940, p. 708. Toleration shown by a few individual monarchs or dynasties should not be construed as indicative of general policy. See also Sharma, *Jainism and Karnataka Culture*, p. 122, where the author differs from Dr. S. K. Aiyangar on the point of religious tolerance.

² These designations by provoking provincial patriotism and creating bad blood have made agreement among the disputants well-nigh impossible. It is all the more regrettable that in the hands of certain recent writers the question threatens to degenerate to the nature of almost a blood feud.

³ For the reconstruction of the story of the foundation of Vijayanagara herein attempted, the reviewer alone is responsible.

⁴ In 1327. This date is accepted by both Mahdi Husain, pp. 144-45, and Ishwari Prasad, *History of the Qaraunah Turks*, p. 64. The acceptance by Saleore, *Social and Political Life in Vijayanagara*, I, p. 10, of 1338 A.D. as the year of Bahā-ud-dīn's rebellion seems to have caused some embarrassment to our author. Yet, in this the former has only accepted the wrong date of Ferishta. There is an inscription of 1331 which may be taken to support our author's conclusion: *EC.*, V, Ak. 31, which mentions a battle between the Turuka and the Hoysala forces at which Ballāla himself was present. The Viragal is dated 1331. But this should not matter, because the memorial tablet may have been erected in the fourth year of the death of the hero.

⁵ The opinion of Dr. M. H. Krishna on this point is noteworthy: "It is highly probable that Harihara and Bukka, who had served under this king,

prisoners and taken to Delhi. According to the testimony of contemporary authors like Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Ziyā Baranī, and 'Iṣāmī, they were converted to Islam. The traditional account current in the time of Nunes has it that finding his representative Malik Nāib unable to maintain order in the newly annexed kingdom (viz. Kāmpili), Muḥammad bin Tughluq restored it to the Hindus in the person of Harihara, misnamed by Nunes Deva Rāja. Since the traditional date of the foundation of Vijayanagara Empire is 17th May, 1336,¹ the restoration may be considered to have taken place at that date, i.e. a year or more after the successful rebellion of Sayyid Ahsan Shah in Ma'bar in 1334.² The old capital of Kāmpila-dēva having suffered at the hands of the Delhi Muhammadans, Harihara seems to have established a new one at Āneguṇḍi or Kuṇjarakoṇa.³ The object of this restoration was to prevent further dismemberment of the empire, firstly by conciliating Hindu opinion in the old kingdom of Kāmpili, and secondly, by using the latter as a check on Vira Ballāḷa III who, it was probably feared, would follow the example of his neighbour in Madura (Ma'bar).

That Harihara revived the old hostility between Kāmpili and Dwārasamudra, a fact which is borne out by tradition as recorded in the *Vidyāranyakṛti*, is testified to by the existence of a record of his as far south as the Bangalore district.⁴ The only other explanation of its existence in this well-known part of the Hoysāḷa kingdom is that Harihara was a feudatory of Ballāḷa III. This, however, is a gratuitous assumption, for there is nothing in this inscription or elsewhere to show that Harihara ever acknowledged the Hoysāḷa supremacy. These early attacks of Harihara would seem to have been beaten off. For soon after, the inscriptions refer themselves to Ballāḷa III as their lawful sovereign. But the net result of these early campaigns was not altogether unsatisfactory from the Vijayanagara point of view. For the Hoysāḷa boundary was pushed further south and the northern part of their kingdom, as represented by the present Chitaldrug district of the Mysore State, was annexed to the rising principality of Āneguṇḍi. This is concluded from two circumstances: firstly, the last Hoysāḷa record in this district is dated in A.D. 1338.⁵ This gives us the

were taken prisoners by the troops of the Sultan of Delhi, but were later released and put in charge of the conquered kingdom, and that Ibn Batuta has made a mistake with regard to their actual relation to Kāmpila (who was father to Raghunatha)." *MAR.*, 1932, p. 129. In fact the practice was fairly common in Kārṇāṭaka, among officers who enjoyed the favour of the reigning monarch, to call themselves his sons. We have any number of instances in Kanarese epigraphs. See, e.g., *EC.*, X, Malur 18.

¹ *MAR.*, 1932, pp. 110-11.

² Mahdi Husain, p. 158.

³ Butterworth, *Nellore Inscriptions*, pp. 109-24; *BC.*, IX, Bg. 72; *EI.*, XV, p. 10.

⁴ Cf. Moraes, *Haryab of Ibn Batuta*, *JBBRAS.*, N.S., XV, p. 35.

⁵ *EC.*, XI, Cd. 6.

important piece of information that the well-known Hoysala general Ballappa Dandanāyaka was in charge of Chitaldrug. But before long, in 1345, the Vijayanagara general Mallinātha, who in a later record claims victory over the Hoysalas,¹ is found in possession of this important station.² The conclusion is irresistible that between these two dates the place had been wrested by the one from the other.

Harihara had thus far faithfully carried out the task entrusted by him by his imperial master at Delhi. But the tone of the Nela-mangala epigraph is far too high for an ordinary feudatory. For the record accords him among others the style of "Arirāyara-vibhāḍa" and "Chatus-samudrādhipati",³ which would indicate an almost independent position. It may be inferred from this that in or about 1340 Harihara virtually threw off the Delhi yoke. This is confirmed by Baranī, who observes, "one of the relations of Kanya Nāyak (Harihara),⁴ whom the Sultan had sent to Kambala, apostatized from Islam and broke out into rebellion".⁵ The author of *An Arabic History of Gujerat* gives the reason for this lapse into Hinduism on the part of Harihara: "This was because of his relations with Kampal"; and he adds, "and he separated that part from the administration of Delhi".⁶ Indeed it would have been impossible for Harihara to continue to practise a religion which force of circumstances had made him adopt, and yet establish himself firmly in the hearts of his people. Accordingly, he availed himself of the first opportunity to free himself from the Delhi tutelage. This was provided by the famine of 1335-41. The distress caused by it was so great that the Sultan could reasonably be expected not to undertake any campaign.⁷ A born statesman, Harihara was not in a hurry to renounce his allegiance completely to Delhi, for he knew he would thereby provoke Qutluḡ Khān, who had been left by Muḥammad bin Tughluq as vazier at Daulatabad. So, deciding to play a cool and waiting game, he outwardly conformed to his position as feudatory, while in actual enjoyment of full independence, and continued to style himself *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, a practice which was subsequently followed by his brother Bukka.

¹ *EC.*, XI, Cd. 2 of 1355.

² *Ibid.*, Cd. 67.

³ It is, however, incorrect to conclude from this, as certain recent writers have done, that at this date Harihara had already made himself the master of Southern India, his kingdom being bounded, so they infer, on either side by the eastern and western ocean. The acquisition of mastery over Southern India is a task, to accomplish which it took full half a century for the successive Vijayanagara sovereigns. Reading the epigraphs in the light of the information handed on by the Muslim historians, it is possible to reconstruct the history of the expansion of Harihara's power from his return from Delhi down to A.D. 1346, which marked the final collapse of the Hoysala power.

⁴ That it is Harihara that is here intended is still more clear from 'Isāmī whose statement will be quoted presently.

⁵ Baranī, p. 484, as cited in Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁶ Dabir-Ross, *An Arabic History of Gujerat*, III, p. 867.

⁷ Mahdi Husain, p. 163.

It was not until the increasing disorders in the north made a southern invasion impossible for the Delhi Sultans, that Vijayanagara sovereigns felt safe to assume imperial titles.

It has been repeatedly affirmed on the authority of a well-known passage from Ferishta that in the face of the Muslim oppression, the Hindu princes of the south forgot their differences and united in a confederacy to defend their culture and religion.¹ But the passage in question² is, to say the least, so hopelessly corrupt that it is not surprising that it has misled all historians who have introduced it into their discussions. Though the discrepancies in it were noted long ago by Rev. H. Heras, he accepted the authenticity of the information therein contained, apparently because among other sources Ferishta must have used the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz-Shāhī* by Zī'ud-dīn Baranī.³ Now, let us see what the *Tārīkh* has to say on this point. As translated by Dr. Ishwari Prasad, it reads: "A revolt of the Hindus broke out in Arangal. Kanya Nāyak had developed strength in the country. Malik Maqbul, the naib vazier, fled to Delhi and reached there in safety. The Hindus captured Arangal which was entirely lost. At this time one of the relations of Kanya Nāyak, whom the Sultan had sent to Kampila, apostatized from Islam and broke out into rebellion. The land of Kampila was lost and fell into the hands of the Hindus, and Deogir and Gujerat alone remained in possession of the Sultan."⁴

It is obvious from the passage that there was no movement such as that imagined by Dr. Prasad,⁵ and several others before him. For if this were the case, other Muslim writers of the class of Ferishta, such as the author of *An Arabic History of Gujerat* who, according to Dr. Prasad himself, "is well informed about . . . the history of the Deccan, and supplements and sometimes even corrects Baranī from other sources . . .",⁶ would not have failed to mention a fact of such great interest and import. But Hājji-ud-Dabir merely says, "There was Malik Qabul at this place (Arnakal)

¹ Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 201, is one of the latest to make this assertion. It is utilized by the defenders of both the theories. In this passage no mention is made by Ferishta of Harihara as joining the confederacy. Hence Dr. Ishwari Prasad (p. 203) has to go out of his way in search of an authority, and stumbles on the Bitragunta inscription of Sangama II of 1356 (*ET.*, III, p. 82), in which it is recorded that "Harihara I defeated the Sultan (Sura-trāna) who resembled Sutraman (Indra) . . ." It will readily be agreed and not less by Dr. Prasad himself that this could not have been a Delhi Sultan. The Sultan may either be the Sultan of Madura, to the confines of which, according to 'Isāmī, the principality of Harihara had extended, this contiguity producing hostility, or Hasan Bahmani who, according to *Burhān-i-Māsir*, appears to have crossed swords with Harib, i.e. Harihara I (*IA.*, XXVIII, p. 148). This is only one of the many instances of a quandary in which those who use this corrupt text of Ferishta are landed.

² Paraphrased in Mahdi Husain, p. 162; quoted in full in Prasad, *loc. cit.*

³ Heras, *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*, p. 44.

⁴ Baranī, p. 484, as cited in Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 200-203.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 356.

and Kita Na'ik marched against him. But the former did not fight him, but left the city, and came to Delhi. Thus Kita Na'ik became master of Arnakal and all the provinces of Tilang."¹

A true account of what actually happened in the Deccan, the moment Muḥammad bin Tughluq became inextricably involved in difficulties at home, is made available in his *Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn* by 'Iṣāmī, who was almost an eye-witness. "In every direction," he says, "a bold man arose; in every kingdom there appeared a new king; a separate capital came out in Ma'bar and there a Sayyid became a King. The kingdom of Telang became rebellious, and the fort of Telang went out of the hands of the Turk. An apostate conquered another kingdom from Gudi² until the confines of Ma'bar. . ."³ (italics mine).

The coalition and the confederacy are thus a mere figment, each prince having followed his own course. On the contrary, the passage from 'Iṣāmī, above quoted, shows, if anything, that the relations between Harihara and Ballāla continued to be as unfriendly as ever before. For it will be agreed that the conquest of the country as far south as the boundaries of Ma'bar by Harihara could take place at the expense only of the Hoysaḷas. This is testified to by the inscriptions of the period, found in identical places, which by referring themselves now to Vijayanagara and then to the Hoysaḷas, and *vice versa*, seem to show a divided allegiance. The actual fact, however, was that these places were, in the course of the Hoysaḷa-Vijayanagara struggle, constantly changing hands. While the later inscriptions remove every vestige of doubt by classing the Hoysaḷas among the enemies conquered by Vijayanagara. "Having conquered," aver the Hasaḷli plates of Harihara II, transferring to him some of the achievements of his ancestors, "his enemies and the prominent countries of Kings of Karnāta, Kuṇṭala, Koṇṭana, Hoysaḷa, Āndhra, Paṇḍya and Choḷa in his wars the great lord of the earth enjoys all glories (of earth) along with the mountains and oceans."⁴

This discussion may now be aptly concluded with a reference to the persistent tradition in Karnāṭaka regarding the Vijayanagara origin, a reference which in the present case confirms and sums up the evidence placed before the reader. In the *Vidyāranya* is made to say, "After a while they waged war with

¹ Dabir-Ross, *An Arabic History of Gujerat*, III, p. 867. The translation of this passage was kindly done for me by Mr. H. M. Fakhr.

² Evidently Guṇḍi=Āneguṇḍi.

³ Mahdi Husain, *Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn*, p. 570. For the translation of this extract, I am indebted to Prof. K. Dehdashti, my distinguished colleague at St. Xavier's College.

⁴ Kundangar, *Hosahaḷli Copper-plate grant of Harihara II*, JBHS., I, p. 130. This is dated 1384 like the one in MAR., 1916, p. 58, mentioned by Father Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 103, note 6. Every one of these victories can be verified with reference to Harihara together with his ancestors. Nor is this the first reference to a war with the Hoysaḷas. An earlier one is Cd. 2, referred to above, of 1355.

Ballāla, but they sustained defeat. They then came to me, related their history and prayed to me. I instructed them to fight again, and they did so and this time they succeeded in defeating king Ballāla, and occupying his kingdom, and ruled in the city of Hastikōṇa (Aneyagoṇḍi)."¹

What seems to have rendered the task of Harihara and his brothers easier was the providential death of Ballāla III at the hands of the Madura Muhammadans, according to one account on the 8th of September, 1342.² From that day onwards, the power of Āneguṇḍi rose from strength to strength, until at last it transcended the natural boundaries set by the Sahya and the eastern range and overflowed to the coasts below.

G. M. MORAES.

A Grammar of the Oldest Kanarese Inscriptions, by A. N. Narasimhia, M.A., L.T., Ph.D. (London), 1941. Pp. xxi+375.

Sources of Karnāṭaka History, by S. Srikantha Sastri, M.A. 1940. Pp. xlvii+238.

Both published by the University of Mysore, Mysore.

For a hundred years or more Indologists had been occupied with the study mainly of Aryan civilization and culture. Since the excavations at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa, however, which have laid bare a pre-Aryan, Dravidian civilization, and the excavations at Ur, Tell-el-Amarna and other places in Mesopotamia, which have resulted in the discovery of an analogous culture, there has been a definite trend in the direction of the hitherto neglected, but equally fruitful, field of research, viz. that of Dravidian studies. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that South Indian Universities, which ought to be the centres of Dravidian lore, should bestow on this branch of indological studies the attention it deserves. The lead in this matter had always come from Mysore, and the great work of the late Mr. B. L. Rice of the Archaeological Department of the Mysore State, who in the volumes of the *Epigraphia* and the *Bibliographia Carnatica* supplied a wealth of material for Karnāṭaka History and Culture, has been continued without intermission by his able successors in the persons of Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhacharya, Arthasāstraviśārada R. Shama Shastry, and Dr. M. H. Krishna. Mysore now places us under a fresh debt of gratitude with the inauguration on the part of the University of two important series of publications, philological and historical. *A Grammar of the Oldest Kanarese Inscriptions* forms vol. I of the "Studies in Dravidian Philology", and if the high

¹ MAR., 1932, p. 107.

² EC., VI, Kp. 75; see also ASR., 1907-8, p. 235, and *Epigraphical Report for Southern Circle*, 1906, para. 51.

standard set by this publication is maintained in the volumes that are to follow, there can be no higher praise for the Mysore University than that it will be conforming to the great traditions of critical scholarship of the Archaeological Department.

As its title signifies, this work deals with the grammar of the oldest Kanarese inscriptions, viz. of the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., and consequently of the language of the literati of the times following the period, when the language of the various courts in Kārṇāṭaka was Prākṛta (cf. *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1928, p. 10). That the work under reference is a distinct contribution is borne out by the fact that though the ancients held the study of grammar in high esteem, no grammar of this language, which Dr. Krishna has rightly styled *Pūrvada Kannaḍa*, is known to exist, the earliest Kannaḍa grammar being a ninth century work on poetics, called the *Kavirājamārga*, ascribed to the Raṣṭrakūṭa king Nṛpatunga or Amōghavarṣa, but which only incidentally touches on a few grammatical points. This is followed in the eleventh century by the *Kāvyaśālākāṇḍa* of Nāgavarmā, and a more exhaustive work on the subject by the same writer in Saṁskṛta, called the *Kārṇāṭakabhāṣābhūṣaṇa*. These were followed in their turn by still more comprehensive treatises, the *Śabdamanīdarpaṇa* and the *Kārṇāṭakaśabdānuśāsana*, written in the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries respectively by Keśirāja and Baṭṭakalanka. In these works may be traced the various phases in the progressive evolution of the Kanarese language, since each of these authors composed his grammar of the language as it lay before him in the works of his own contemporaries no less than those of older writers. It is the special merit of the present work that while giving the words in the form in which they are found in the inscriptions under study, the author also mentions various modulations they underwent in the succeeding centuries, and in this task he presses into service the above-mentioned works. To those desirous of acquiring a knowledge of Kannaḍa Epigraphy, no better work can be recommended.

It is, however, curious that our author has not included among the inscriptions selected for examination, the Halmidi inscription of the Kadamba King Kākustavarma, assigned to the middle of the fifth century A.D. It has been claimed for this epigraph that it is "the earliest undisputed document now known in Kannaḍa" (*MAR.*, 1936, p. 76). But it was perhaps as well that this monstrosity, which contains only 16 small Kannaḍa words in the 16 lines of which it consists (*Ibid.*, p. 77) was left out. Its only importance, besides the historical information which it affords, seems to be that it is an early illustration of a baneful tendency of Sanskritization very much in evidence at a later age among a certain class of Kannaḍa writers, a tendency, which, had it not been successfully resisted, would have ended in killing the language outright. It is to the credit of the Jaina writers that they fought this tendency tooth and nail, and by insisting on the use of deśiya words in preference to the tadbhava ones, and the latter to pure

Samskr̥ta, rescued Kannaḍa from its thralldom to Samskr̥ta. It is, however, equally plausible that the record in question marks a stage in the transition from Prākṛta and Samskr̥ta to Kannaḍa as the official language.

The Sources of Karnāṭaka History, which belongs to the Mysore University Historical Series, is just the sort of work we are longing for. I think it was Rao Bahadur Narasimhacharya who, while deploring the fact that Dr. Kittel in his anxiety to suppress everything that may smack of Hindu mythology omitted in his publications of the Karnāṭaka works all invocatory verses, has pointed out that it was these latter verses, as also those on the title-page and in the colophon, which contain very valuable information concerning the author and his times. And since these authors were almost always patronized by kings or nobles, their works are bound to contain allusions to contemporary political events. What is more, something of historical value may be gleaned even from grammarians. In his valuable essay on Kannaḍa literature, Dr. Kittel has remarked with reference to Nāgavarmā's *Kāvya-valōkana* that "Nāgavarmā in his quotations introduces a Cālukya cakreśa as fighting, a Jayasiṅga bhūpa whose elephant is fighting victoriously, a Tailapa Cakravarti in . . . a verse that contains clearly the name of Rattihalli, a Vikramāṅka, who orders a mahādāna to be given, a Polikeśi Vallabha, whose fortitude is praised . . . a Koṅgulivarma, who is gaining the victory over a body of horsemen, a Mādhava, who is fighting"; while Keśirāja in his *Śabdamanīdarpaṇa* has quotations such as "The Sword of Tailapa's arm was like Rudra (when being considered as) the fire of the (all-destroying) time"; and further, "What a beauty! Udayāditya causes to be said of himself that Manu and he are virtuous, that the celestial tree and he are the donors, that the ocean and he are deep"; and again, "Who will not bow to Nṛpatuṅga that bears the weapons as the first of kings, is conversant with politics, dignified, pure, munificent, and heroic". In this work Keśirāja also says that he has written a *Cōḷapālakacaritam* (*Śabdamanīdarpaṇa*, p. xxii, p. 408).

An attempt has been made in the work under review to collate such passages from the classical writers as have a bearing on Karnāṭaka history and culture, down to the Yādava period. While commending the enormous labour this must have entailed, one wishes the author had not included the extracts from the inscriptions, as they are easily accessible, and devoted the space so saved for a full translation of the literary extracts. This is absolutely necessary in view of the fact that, as the author himself affirms, not only has Karnāṭaka played an important rôle in pan-Indian politics, but has made notable contributions to Indian culture in art and literature, religion and philosophy, science and administration. It is only when this material is presented in English that the history of a cultural or linguistic unit can be related to the general history of the country and its contribution or influence

accurately assessed. For it can hardly be expected that the scholars outside Kārṇāṭaka will have a working knowledge of this by no means easy language.

It seems doubtful that on the various issues raised in the introduction the scholars would find themselves in agreement with the author. He assigns, for instance, the foundation of the Kadamba dynasty (which, for reasons not given, he spells as Kadamba) to the year c 250 A.D., apparently because the Candavalli inscription of Mayūrasarma is placed on palaeographical grounds in this year by its editor (*MAR.*, 1930, p. 50). It may interest our author to know that in this Mr. T. N. Ramachandran of the Calcutta Museum differs from Dr. Krishna. According to the former scholar, "The period assigned to the Chandravalli inscription (250 A.D.) by Dr. Krishna would mark only its inner limit while its upper limit would extend to 350 A.D. or even later. In fact 250 A.D. may apply to the first two lines of the inscription while the last lines exhibit palaeological features indicating a later age, say, by a hundred years. After all, one cannot be sure of precise dating in the realm of palaeography. There is hardly anything preventing us from accepting the author's (i.e. Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula*, p. 71) starting date for Mayūrasarma, viz. 345 A.D., and other chronological details that the author discusses herein seem to support this" (*Triveni*, IV, p. 110). There is yet another scholar who has come to an identical conclusion, but from different premises (Sircar, *The Successors of the Satavahanas*, p. 223). There is no reason therefore to antedate the foundation of the Kadamba dynasty by a hundred years, and especially so, because the author seems to accept the date given to Kākustavarma, who, if he (author) were to be consequent with himself, should have also been antedated.

Finally, it is to be regretted that the author does not show due courtesy to his fellow scholars in the field of Kārṇāṭaka history—a trait, which the reviewer holds, is foreign to Kannadigas and much more to Mysore, a State distinguished by the politeness of its people.

G. M. MORAES.

The Rāmāyaṇa Polity, by Miss P. C. Dharma, M.A., D.Litt., with a Foreword by the Rt. Hon. Dr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. Madras Law Journal Press, 1941. Pp. 97. Rs.2.

This is a monograph containing the thesis approved by the University of Madras for the Degree of Doctor of Letters. Though based entirely on one single work, it is a creditable performance characterized by patient industry in collecting materials and arranging them in an orderly manner. The object of the talented

writer is to depict only political institutions as described by Vālmīki in the Rāmāyaṇa. After briefly referring to the Rāmāyaṇa as an Itihāsa and Kāvya, to the different dates assigned to the Rāmāyaṇa, to the geographical data contained therein, the social organization of India at the time of the Epic, the authoress devotes eight chapters to the system of government (monarchy, the restraints on kings, succession, coronation, ideals of kingship, duties of kings), the central administration (the sabhā or popular assembly, constitution of the assembly, Paura-Jānapada), the ministry, permanent higher officials, revenue administration and taxation, administration of law and justice, local administration and military organization. The writer often uses modern phraseology to describe ancient institutions, e.g. on page 12 she states "the form of government during the Rāmāyaṇa period was a limited monarchy". Rt. Hon. Dr. Srinivasa Sastri sounds a note of warning in his Foreword that danger lurks in applying modern labels to ancient conceptions and cites the word "Rājakartārah" used in the Rāmāyaṇa. Limited monarchy in the language of modern constitutional history has a definite sense which can hardly be said to be applicable to the benevolent despotism described in the Rāmāyaṇa. The writer assumes (on page 3) that Vālmīki was a contemporary of Rāma and the polity described in the Rāmāyaṇa may be considered to reflect the age in which Rāma lived. Hardly any modern scholar will accept the idea that the poet who composed the Rāmāyaṇa, as we now have it, was a contemporary of the hero Rāma of the Tretā age if such an one ever flourished in flesh and blood. The book deserves to be read by all students of ancient Indian polity.

P. V. K.

Rājadharmā, by Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar.
Adyar Library, Adyar, 1941. Pp. xxvi+65+151. Rs.3-8-0.

This volume embodies the lectures which Rao Bahadur Aiyangar delivered in the Dewan Bahadur K. Krishnaswami Row Foundation of the University of Madras on some aspects of Dharmasāstra. He has named the book "Rājadharmā" in accordance with his view that Indian polity was part and parcel of Dharmasāstra. The learned author states (Preface, xvi), "The form of a lecture precludes the inclusion of citations of authority. The lectures now printed contain on every page statements which run counter to received opinion. . . . The need is met by the addition of the 'Notes' at the end of the lectures". One wishes that a large part of the notes had been incorporated in the body of the book or given at the foot of every page. As printed the notes occupy more than double the pages allotted to the text. The

claim that on every page of the text there are statements which run counter to received opinion is rather exaggerated. There are hardly any statements in the first 12 pages (out of 65) to which serious objections will be taken by scholars. Almost all writers subscribe to the learned author's view (on page 9): "Secular and religious considerations are inextricably interwoven in Hindu motives and actions. This feature is reflected in Dharmaśāstra". The author's view that "the assumption of the origin of Arthaśāstra from a secular source is opposed to Indian tradition, which attributes a semi-divine or at least an inspired source to it" may be accepted as correct. After a brief account of the Sanskrit works on polity the author explains that law proper forms a very small part of many *smṛtis* and digests because they assumed the existence of civil codes like those of "Nārada" and that the theory of bias (secular or unsecular) on the part of writers fails. One is constrained to say that this is not a satisfactory explanation. Numerous works on all branches of Dharmaśāstra have always existed during the last 1,200 years or so. But new works were always being written up to the nineteenth century. If the existence of legal works like the Nāradaśmṛti induced most writers to eschew the subject of law proper, there is no reason why there should have been so many works on Ācāra, Śrāddha and other topics even up to 1800 A.D. when authoritative works on those topics were written centuries before. The reason is that the writer's inclinations, his opportunities and the political and the social conditions of the times of each author were the governing conditions of the contents of the medieval *nibandhas*. The learned author rightly points out the mistakes of scholars like Meyer (who placed Dharmaśāstra under magic), Jolly, B. K. Sarkar (who regards Dharmaśāstra as public law), K. P. Jayaswal. The major assumptions or postulates of Indian belief required for the correct perception of the scope and content of Dharmaśāstra are, according to the author, the following (page 29), viz. "Dharma has its root and finds its sanction in Veda", "the sole subject of Veda is Dharma", the purpose of life is fourfold, Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa and this fourfold purpose is rendered possible of attainment by the division of the population into four Varnas and of life into the four stages (Āśramas). In the second lecture after adverting to the vastness of the extant literature on Dharmaśāstra the author shows how the individual, the corporations and the king were all under the jurisdiction of Dharmaśāstra and how the adjustment of the rules of Dharmaśāstra to the changing needs of Indian society arising from the invasions of Huns and Moslems were made by fictions (such as that of Kalivarjyas) and equity but not by direct legislation (pp. 37-43). In the following pages he cites many illustrations of the changes that were manifestly due to the pressure of public opinion. The author tries to explain why in the *nibandhas* written to the orders of rulers, non-nīti subjects loom very large and why the *nibandhas* dealing with rājanīti are few, unattractive and insipid. The notes contain valuable information.

There is room for difference of opinion in several places. On page 107 the author remarks that the slaughter of the last Maurya, Brhadratha, by Puṣyamitra was on the ground of the king's being "Pratijñā-durbala" and cites the Harṣa-carita in support. In the text of the Harṣa-carita printed at the Nirnayasagar Press the reading is "Prajñādurbala" and the ancient commentator supports the latter reading and Bāṇa calls Puṣyamitra "*Anārya*" for having become a regicide by stratagem, which appellation would not be justified if Bāṇa really held that Brhadratha deserved to be killed for his breach of faith. Rao Bahadur Aiyangar holds (page 21) that the views of "Ācāryāḥ" from which Kauṭilya emphatically dissents in almost all citations are those of his teacher. Elsewhere reasons for not accepting this view have been given and many scholars are against it (*vide* Silver Jubilee number of the Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, 1942). There are some lapses and misprints, a few of which are serious. On page 21, it is said "Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa does not spare his father, the renowned Kamalākara" which should read "Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa is not spared by his son the renowned Nilakaṇṭha". On page 122 we should read "Chammak" for "Dhammak". Kātyāyana's remarks on Pāṇini's sūtras are called "Vārtikāṇi" and not "Vārtikāḥ" (page 18). On the same page the Brahmasūtra is stated to contain 160 aphorisms when as a matter of fact it contains 555 sūtras.

The work under review is a very useful addition to the modern literature on ancient Indian polity and Dharmaśāstra.

P. V. K.

Neminātha-purāṇam of Karnapārya, edited with a Preface in English describing the MSS., an Introduction in Kannaḍa discussing the date, etc. and four Appendices giving the verse-index, etc., by H. Sesha Ayyangar. (Madras University Kannaḍa Series No. 8.) 1940. Pp. 4+52+600. Price Rs.5.

The Neminātha-purāṇam or Harivaṁśa of Karnapārya was already introduced to scholars as a Kannaḍa Campū of graceful style (Kavicarite I, pp. 139-44, Bangalore, 1924), and its date, etc. were subsequently discussed by R. Narasimhacharya, Venkata Subbaih and others. The text was still in MSS. and is edited in this volume by H. Sesha Ayyangar with admirable assiduity and carefulness.

In his Kannaḍa Introduction, besides reviewing some of the important aspects of the Kāvya (pp. xxxii f.), the editor has elaborately discussed the date of Karnapārya in relation to that of his predecessor like Pampa and his contemporaries like

Kalyānakīrti and Lakṣmaṇa, and assigns the author to A.D. 1130-35 (p. xxxi). One wished that a summary of this discussion was added also in English for the benefit of non-Kannāḍa scholars who have their interest in such chronological discussions. The Kannāḍa text is presented in a very satisfactory manner. We do not know why the various readings, in many places, are simply recorded without their being assigned to Ka-Kha or Ga especially in the first 328 pages. To me it appears to be a healthy practice to print without spacing expressions like *caḷajjihvāliyiṁdeyde* (vi. 116), *-kṣuṇabalāṁvita* (xii 124), etc.

The Prākṛit Vasudevahindī and the Sanskrit Harivaṁśa-purāṇa of Jīanāsena I (Śaka 705), both of which are available in print, it appears, have not attracted the attention of the editor as the probable predecessors, dealing with Harivaṁśa, with which the contents of this text might be compared.

The editor deserves every praise for his labours in preparing such a valuable and useful edition of this eminent Kannāḍa Campū.

A. N. UPADHYE.

Jainism and Karnāṭaka Culture, by Prof. S. R. Sharma, M.A.
(Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar, Silver Jubilee
Publication Series No. 1.) 1940. Pp. 20+214. Price Rs.5.

It was really unfortunate that Prof. Sharma's thesis "Jainism in South India", submitted for the M.A. degree of the University of Bombay as early as 1928, should have remained unpublished all these years. A summary of it, however, appeared in the Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. I, i, pp. 177-83. Possibly with the exception of the introductory and concluding chapters, the volume under review presents the main substance of the thesis and attempts to assess the bearing of the Jainism in Karnāṭaka upon the Karnāṭaka culture and vice versa (p. 1), particularly after instituting a careful study of Jainism in Karnāṭaka from epigraphic and literary sources. The bibliography shows that the author has not found time to revise the thesis up to date: he has used, however, the works of Drs. Altekar and Saletore which are closely connected with this publication. The thorough analysis of Jaina inscriptions given by Dr. Saletore in his Mediaeval Jainism and the review of the vicissitudes to which Jainism was subjected in Karnāṭaka almost from the days of Candragupta up to the advent of English, presented by Prof. Sharma in this book, give now a good basis for all further studies in Jainism and Karnāṭaka history.

The first part gives a historical survey of Jainism and Jaina community from epigraphic and literary sources under the

Karnāṭaka dynasties like the Kadamba, Gaṅga, Cālukya, Rāṣṭrakūṭa, Kalacūri, Hoysaḷa, Vijayanagara and Mysore with their later feudatories. It is under the Gaṅgas and Rāṣṭrakūṭas that Jainism experienced a golden age; while under some of the Cālukya and Hoysaḷa kings and Śaivite chiefs, the Jainas suffered a good deal. This section is a systematic attempt for a sober narration of facts in a connected manner. The next section is devoted to the study of Jaina contribution to literature, art and architecture. In the last few years a good deal of fresh information has come to light, and we are forced to correct the views expressed by earlier scholars: consequently many of the sources followed by Prof. Sharma require to be restated. In the third section some of the principles of Jainism are outlined according to the works of Kundakunda and the canonical texts like the Uttarādhyayana, Ācārāṅga, etc.; and in the light of this theoretical discussion, Jainism and Jaina community are reviewed as they came to be in later days. In conclusion, the author shows that there is sufficient evidence to contradict the view that there was nothing like a Jaina period in the history of India; he refutes the allegation of Mrs. Stevenson that the heart of Jainism is empty; and after a sympathetic estimate of the Jaina influence in Karnāṭaka, he remarks (p. 150): "But, it should be conceded that Jainism has been largely responsible for making Karnāṭaka, in the main, vegetarian, and Ahimsā still forms the substratum of Indian character as a whole. For hundreds of persecutions of the Jainas by non-Jainas we can hardly find a single instance where the reverse happened".

Despite the attempt, in a few cases, to dilute them by modificatory foot-notes, some statements are found here and there which have no basis in facts; a few of them may be noted here:

- (i) The verse *vivekāṭ tykta*, etc. is not to be attributed to Guṇabhadra (pp. 31-2), but it occurs at the close of Praśnottara-ratnamālā on the authority of which Amoghavarṣa is the author.
- (ii) Nanna was not the king's son and probably identical with Indra IV (p. 33), but he was the son of Mahāmātya Bharata.
- (iii) The sentence: "The incidents in it are placed at the time of Neminātha, their sixteenth Tirthaṅkara" (p. 76) deserves to have been deleted outright, because it is meaningless: first, the Rāmāyaṇa incidents are associated with Munisuvrata, the 20th Tirthaṅkara; and secondly, Neminātha is not the 16th but the 22nd.
- (iv) There is no Harivaṁśa-purāṇa by the second Jinasena and his disciple (p. 82), so the question about its being identical with the Mahāpurāṇa does not arise at all.
- (v) If the author admits that the story "is really narrated by Yogirāt paṇḍita in his commentary on Pārśvābhyudaya", there is no point in keeping a remark that "it is certain that Guṇabhadra must have concocted the story", when there is no basis for it (p. 85).
- (vi) Lakṣmī-sena has nothing to do with Lakṣmī-śayana, because the derivation of *sena* (-gana)

from *śayana* has no justification; the validity or otherwise of further deductions need not be discussed. (vii) The sentence on which foot-note No. 156 is added (p. 168) deserves to be removed, because the Caturthas have no teacher at Kurundwad; and the foot-note should be read thus: "Their teacher is Jinasena who has his Maṭhas at Nandani, Kolhapur, Belgaum, etc.". (viii) The author has clearly defined Sallekhanā on pp. 192 f., but one does not understand why he refuses to distinguish it from suicide on p. 164 with a pun on the word "calamity" whose technical meaning (*upasarga*) he ignores.

In discussing Ahimsā the author has used texts like Ācārāṅga which prescribe the code of morality for monks, and he judges the activities of laymen in the light of these standards. This is certainly an objectionable procedure which is bound to lead to misrepresentation and confusion of ethical values. The Jaina texts like Sāvayapaṇṇatti, Puruṣārthasiddhyupāya have stated what a pious householder should and should not do according to his status of the Pratimās which are already described in early Jaina works. Similarly, that a woman cannot attain liberation in the same birth (p. 138) has led the author to the belief that she cannot enter the ascetic order and practise austerities (pp. 163 f.) which is hardly logical; and according to Jainism godhood and liberation are two distinct concepts (p. 162), the former not being denied to a woman. Thurston has not understood what an *anuvratī* means (p. 165), nor has the author tried to ascertain its meaning: he is a pious householder who is not prohibited from marrying.

In his description of Jainism as it came to be (pp. 142-68), the author could have himself studied the conditions, as Guérinot and others have done, without merely copying the meaningless statements of Surrock, Thurston, Buchanan and others: the result has been that the whole section bristles with statements which almost verge on misrepresentation. The author calls some of their expressions "contradictory epithets" and "unintelligible paradox"; but still he does not stand the temptation of arriving at historical conclusions from their remarks (p. 158, etc.). From a first-hand knowledge of the conditions in Karnāṭaka I can say that the sources followed by the author do contain mistakes; and as such it is necessary that the details and conclusions will have to be verified before accepting them as valid premisses. More attention to the diacritical points would have heightened the referential value of the book.

Apart from the minor drawbacks noted above which can be easily corrected in the next edition, Prof. Sharma's book displays a dispassionate and sympathetic approach to the subject-matter and contains a good deal of information presented in a systematic form. This volume would be of great use to students working in the fields of Jainism and Karnāṭaka culture.

A. N. UPADHYE.

Introduction to Indian Textual Criticism, by S. M. Katre, M.A., Ph.D., with Appendix II by P. K. Gode, M.A. Published by the Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay. 1941. Pp. 14+148. Price Rs.3-8-0.

The ancient Indian Paṇḍit was not altogether devoid of some yearning for what he considered to be the correct text, and the medieval commentators have more than once complained against the vagaries of MSS., the *pāthāntaras* from which they have noted and discussed; but the critical text, as we understand it today, was never within their purview, nor were the conditions favourable for them to evolve any objective criteria of textual criticism. In the West, however, hand in hand with the scientific researches and evaluation of legal evidence, the classical philologists, in course of their studies of Greek and Latin texts, evolved canons of textual criticism whose importance cannot be underestimated. With the exodus of Indian MSS. to Europe, eminent professors, well trained in classical philology, applied those canons of criticism to Sanskrit and Prākṛit texts with admirable results. It is to these scholars, and Prākṛit texts with admirable results. It is to these scholars, their Indian pupils and a few other Indian scholars who rigorously followed their methods that we owe some critical editions of Indian texts. The work, so far done, is almost negligible in comparison with what needs to be done. India possesses vast treasures of old MSS. of ancient works in different languages and scripts; more and more interest is being shown to present the ancient classics in an authentic form; but "with very few exceptions the critical editing of texts in India is lagging behind, and the editors have neither the training nor the proper guidance to qualify them for their task" (p. viii).—

Our Universities have not made any provision for training text-critics; even our Honours graduates with language gape with amaze when palm-leaf MSS. are shown to them; and worse of all, some of the reviews, even in Oriental journals, fail to discriminate between and assign adequate values to critical, authentic and "print-off" editions. Quite in keeping with this general neglect, we had no manual on textual criticism specially suited to Indian requirements. Consequently those scholars, who went in for self-training, got some glimpses from the workshop of a critical scholar by studying the articles of Postgate, etc. and the rich introductions of Hertel, Edgerton, Sukthankar and others.

Dr. V. S. Sukthankar stands as the uncrowned king among the Indian text-critics; his Prolegomena to the critical edition of the Ādiparvan of the Mahābhārata is an unsurpassed contribution to Indian textual criticism on account of its exactitude of theory and its rigorous application to the bewildering material of the Mahābhārata text; so it would have been a great boon to Indian scholarship if he could write a book on this subject. Many would certainly join Dr. Katre in his pious wish (pp. vii-viii). It was really a happy event, however, that Dr. Katre has brought forth

this monograph, may be as a "stop-gap" which aims "to show with reference to Indian conditions the principal features of the science of textual criticism, in so far as it can be a science, and thus enable future editors to master the modern methods of critical editing" (p. viii).

Even within a small compass of 88 pages Dr. Katre has tried to present a good deal of useful and instructive information, both theoretical and practical. The introductory chapter surveys the landmarks of the history of writing in India and fully describes the writing materials used by Indians, such as birch-bark, cotton cloth, wooden boards, palm-leaves, skin, metals, stones, bricks and paper. With a few passing remarks on ink and instruments of writing, some information is given about the external arrangement and appearance of inscriptions and MSS. Oral transmission of texts was a normal feature in ancient India; it must have been gradually substituted by documental one; a good deal of zeal was shown for establishing libraries in medieval ages by kings, etc.; and today we have a great heritage of MSS. bearing witness to the unceasing copying activities of the ancient and medieval Indian scribes. The author's autograph copy is usually beyond our reach; every crumbling exemplar was being replaced by a fresh copy; and every generation of MSS. was sure to add a few more divergences from the exemplar. If a text happened to be orally transmitted, there would be variations, when the text is recorded, according to individuals and localities with additional contaminations as time passes on.

Chapter Two deals with the kinds of texts. Autographs or even their immediate successors are usually rare, so Indian textual criticism deals mainly with copies of copies whose degree of error increases ordinarily with its distance from the autograph. The copyist is not a machine and is liable to visual ([or auditory, if the text is dictated]) and psychological errors which might be classified differently also. If the text is copied by more than one person or is made up of different strata and contains additions and alterations, their relative importance has to be assessed carefully. Popular texts get conflated at the hands of zealous and itinerant narrators by incorporating marginalia, etc. As in the case of Bhavabhūti's texts the author himself might be held responsible for some of the revisions. Due to currents and cross-currents detected in the text-transmission, it is possible to show the relationship of MSS. in the form of a pedigree. Due to various reasons, such as climate, neglect, iconoclastic vandalism, etc., some MSS. are lost beyond recovery; but in a few cases the sources like translations or digests, references by titles, quotations and commentaries give us some information about them. Many scripts are prevailing in India, and experience teaches us that this superficial difference of scripts (the popular Devanāgarī excepted) corresponds to deep underlying textual differences.

Chapter Three deals with some fundamental aspects of textual criticism which "has for its sole object the interpretation and controlling of the evidence contained within the manuscripts of a text or in documents so that we can reach as far back as possible and try to recover the authentic text or to determine as nearly as possible the words written by the author himself". The customary division admits two processes: Recension and Emendation. The method of classical philology, applied to the Greek and Latin texts, admits, however, four stages: "(1) *Heuristics* or assembling and arranging the entire material consisting of manuscripts and testimonia in the form of a genealogical tree or pedigree or *stemma codicum*; (2) *Recensio* or restoration of the text to its most ancient type possible on the basis of the above material; (3) *Emendatio* or restoration of the text of the author; and (4) *Higher Criticism* or separation of the sources utilized by the author". All these stages are fully explained in this chapter. The critical text so arrived at may be further scrutinized with the help of indirect evidences, often termed *testimonia*, supplied by anthologies, translations, quotations, imitations (including parodies), epitomes, adaptations and commentaries whose scope is explained. The progress of Higher Criticism as applied to Indian text is almost negligible.

Chapter Four discusses the problem of critical recension. When the MSS. are collated and their readings are studied scrutinizingly, they show mutual kinship as well as divergences. "Apart from accident, identity of reading implies identity of origin." By applying the usual tests of omissions and agreements, it becomes possible to arrange the various MSS. in a genealogical table starting with the archetype. How it can be done, what are the precautions, how readings are to be settled not by counting but by weighing the codices, etc.: these points are fully discussed by the author with illustrations.

Chapter Five deals with the causes of corruptions in a transmitted text which can never be exhausted and are consequently classified under different types such as confusions, omissions and additions whose scope is outlined. There are visual errors arising out of confusion, omission, transposition, addition, loss, repetition, etc. of letters. If the text is dictated, there are auditory errors. Among the semi-voluntary and voluntary corruptions may be included transposition, wrong divisions of words, interchange of words, omissions, incorporation of marginalia and interpolations. Textual improvement in the Mahābhārata is detected to be due to various motives such as elimination of hiatus, metrical correction, eschewing solecism, removal of archaism and improving on a difficult reading. Additions are necessitated by the desire to elaborate, to repeat, to instruct, to dogmatize, to make up a lacunae, to harmonize the text and to supplement for the occasion.

Chapter Six deals with emendation. When the transcriptional errors are detected and the text-recension is nearly determined, the

editor (when the three other conclusions, namely, acceptance, doubt and rejection are not possible) may be required to offer certain emendations after weighing intrinsic and documentary probabilities. Emendation should not amount to the amendment of the text against the testimony of the MSS., but it should be "rather an effort to find, so to say, a hypotheticalal focus towards which the discordant readings converge". Emendation has its disadvantages, so eminent text-critics have often given preference to interpretation: the former should be resorted to only when the latter fails. Much depends, however, on the nature of the text and the MSS. material: "as far as possible we should try to avoid subjective judgment when the question of an emendation arises, and look for ancient parallels within the text itself in its corrupted passages". The two schools of critics, conservative and otherwise, are in a way extreme views; and one at the cost of the other need not be overvalued.

Chapter Seven discusses some canons of textual criticism which stand as "the general rules, founded mainly on observed forms of error or of license" and which "should be used with due recognition of their limited validity". Here are some of them: (i) *Lectio difficilior* deserves preference. (ii) "In a comparison of variants, the larger arrays of manuscripts represent the earlier divergences; the smaller always represent the later". (iii) The conservative critic has his dictum: "It is better to leave in the text what, if not the original reading, is at least the remains of it"; while the opposite school would retort: "Stop-gaps should be preferred to debris", meaning thereby that "it would be better to present in the text something which the author might have written than something which he could not". (iv) When the probabilities are equally balanced and when there are more plausible ways than one of correcting it, "the general dictum is that the faulty reading must be allowed to remain". (v) There is often the need of distinguishing between "original" and "secondary" readings, when the text-transmission proceeds along more than one line of descent from the archetype. (vi) The two extremes of the text-version, briefer and fuller, are called the *textus simplicior* and the *textus ornatior*; and as a general rule, the latter must be assumed *a priori* to be later in time.

The concluding chapter gives practical hints on the editing of texts and describes the essentials of a critical edition. The necessary MSS. should be collected, collated and evaluated. The Introduction should contain their description and discussion about their mutual relation and trustworthiness, and further give all the details about the author, his date and works. The edition should be equipped with various indexes which would serve as instruments of research in different branches of knowledge with which the edited text is directly or indirectly connected. The chapter concludes with the usual procedure which the editor might adopt in dealing with a text preserved in a single MS. of sufficient antiquity.

This résumé of the contents shows that the author has made an admirable effort for a sufficiently exhaustive exposition of the subject of textual criticism. The very precision and economic expression of some of the statements have made them subtle; and in the absence of requisite explanation and adequate illustrations, their exact significance is likely to be lost upon the "promising young scholars" for whose benefit the book is primarily meant. Consequently one feels the necessity that some portions of this book have to be read along with the excellent discussions of Dr. Sukthankar in his *Prolegomena*. The illustrations are usually drawn from the *Mahābhārata*, *Pañcatantra*, etc.; it is true that their study has given admirable results; but the complications of the text-tradition and the magnitude of the work associated with these models are simply bewildering for a beginner, working single-handed and with limited materials, before whom some modest models and their illustrations should also be put. Bühler's discussion about palaeography is admirable in its own way; but so far as manuscriptology is concerned, more details, some of them varying in different parts of the country and quite necessary for a beginner who wants to handle MSS., could have been given by using some important contributions on the subject like Punyavijayaji's discussion in the *Jaina Citrakalpadruma* (Ahmedabad, 1935). Despite his expressed intention (p. xi) that he has reserved the study of Historical Palaeography of Indian Manuscripts for a separate treatise, the author has described the scribal errors of visual nature so far as Devanāgarī and Śāradā scripts are concerned (pp. 56-7); one wished that similar examples were given from other Indian scripts by way of illustration; and in this connection we earnestly request Dr. Katre to supplement this work by that "separate treatise" as early as possible without allowing that "promise" to lapse as a piece of historical interest. We do not exactly follow how Bühler's remark "that the beginning of the Hindu Śāstras and poetry goes back to a time when writing was unknown, etc." can be objected to on the strength of the existence of written characters at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa (p. 3). The author's remark "Paper MSS. are generally not older than the thirteenth century A.D." possibly has in view only the conditions in western India. So far as the well-established meaning is concerned, the *Prāśasti*, either of the author or of the copyist, is found at the close and "not at the beginning of some section of the work" (pp. 80, 94). A warning may be added on p. 20 or so, for the benefit of a beginner, that an apparently latest MS. is not necessarily the last successor of the autograph or the archetype, because its exemplar might be pretty old. Direct quotation, anonymous or otherwise, is recognized as one of the categories of testimonia (p. 33); but we have to remember also its limitation that usually, if not necessarily, our ancient *Pandits* quoted from memory, and if the contents were duly retained, verbal changes did not matter much with them. So far as our dramatic works

are concerned, it looks quite reasonable that we have to concede Actor's omissions, along with his interpolations (p. 62) in plays adapted for stage acting. The last chapter is full of excellent instructions which should be carefully followed by all serious editors of Indian texts: thus alone they can produce model editions, valuable in themselves and extremely useful to the historian of literature and linguistic studies: for the benefit of the novice, the author could have conveniently explained the purpose underlying the pāda-indices, etc. Most of the illustrations are drawn from Sanskrit texts, and it is quite necessary that some should be added from the Pāli, Prākṛit, Apabhraṃśa and post-Apabhraṃśa texts.

When the available MSS. are all independent, sometimes the question arises whether a syllable or a word should be taken as the unit for selecting the reading. The problem of the validity of grammatical standard may not arise in dealing with classical Sanskrit texts; but a beginner would like to get detailed instructions on this point in handling some of the medieval Sanskrit texts especially from Gujarat. The epics do present these difficulties; Dr. Sukthankar has pointedly raised this question (*Prolegomena*, p. lxxvii) and indirectly, without much discussion, given its reply by preferring interpretation to emendation. In editing Prākṛit and Apabhraṃśa texts this problem becomes all the more complicated: the grammatical standard is uncertain and not well defined and the MSS. show manifold syllabic divergences. When we come to the post-Apabhraṃśa texts in old-Rājasthānī, old-Gujarātī and old-Hindī, and also post-classical texts in other living languages like Kannāḍa, the complications increase as the language itself is subjected to changes according to time and place; and the possibility of arriving at the author's text, or even the archetype, appears almost an impossibility. We do not get any appreciable light from this book on these questions which often tease a conscientious editor; and we earnestly hope that Dr. Katre would kindly attend to the above topics in the next edition.

Besides the Index at the end, the book is equipped with some useful appendices. The first gives a glossary of technical terms used in textual criticism: their study is quite essential for a clear understanding and precise and standardized expression, though some of these classical words can be replaced by terms of common usage. The second is contributed by Mr. P. K. Gode; it presents an exhaustive chronological list of MSS. catalogues from 1807-1940; and it is a record of great practical utility. The last one describes some important MSS. and critical editions.

Textual criticism is an intelligent and rigorous art; it is guided by definite principles, at times of limited application; and it expects maximum conscientiousness and vigilance from its devotee. It has its mysteries and charms; its theoretical study has to be accompanied by practical lessons; and it can be mastered better at the hands of a worthy teacher. It is a pity that our Universities,

which teach many classical languages, have made no provision for this art in their courses.

Dr. Katre's monograph fulfils a long-felt want; it is an informative manual written in a lucid style; and it deserves to be an indispensable companion to all serious editors of Indian texts. The Authors and Publishers deserve our gratitude for this publication.

A. N. UPADHYE.

Modern India and the West, ed. L. S. S. O'Malley. Oxford University Press for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1941. Pp. x, 834. 36s.

"India is united by a common culture, which for many centuries has been distinguished by a remarkable continuity. What Isocrates said of Greece may be said of India, viz., it is the name of a culture, not of a race,"—thus an Englishman who has considered modern India in its interaction with the West. The true problem of Indian culture is a vast and variegated picture which is to be considered in relation to thousands of years of recorded history and millennia of unrecorded pre-history. In relation to the present, "Indian" culture is identified to a large extent with its Aryan element. Nevertheless, it is true, that this is only one of the countless influences that have affected India and left an indelible mark. Mohenjo Daro, Dravidian culture, the vestiges of primitive cultures, all assure us of the very complex pattern that is Indian culture.

This long history does undoubtedly prove that India has preserved an ethos of its own which no amount of political and religious diversity can ever hope to shatter. This conclusion is unmistakably reached by a study of this sober and impressive symposium which is of great value at the present time, when so many institutions, states and ideas are in the melting-pot. In modern Indian culture three distinct elements can clearly be distinguished: Aryan, Islamic and European. Of the first two, being matters of history, we have now fairly tolerable accounts: but of the last, as its influence is still in the process of development and change, no definitive opinion can be expressed in a contribution like the present one.

This book is published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs and is a symposium consisting of some 15 essays on the various aspects of Indian culture in its relation to the West, with a very full survey by the editor, Mr. O'Malley.

The general standard of the essays is high, and each author, in his attempt at objectivity, has given us a comparatively sober and workman-like account of his own subject. The most valuable essays from the point of view of the general student may be mentioned. The editor, in an historical background extending over

40 pages, gives us a very good bird's-eye view of the whole problem, and is refreshingly free from the patronizing attitude which is the distinguishing feature of some members of the Civil Service. J. R. Cunningham, a member of the Educational Service, gives a competent account of the history of British education beginning with the famous Minute of Macaulay. After three or four essays we come to "Hinduism and the West" by Sir S. Radhakrishnan, which, with the essay on "Primitive Tribes" by Professor J. H. Hutton and on "Indian Influence on the West" by H. G. Rawlinson, may be said to be the three best essays in the book before us. Radhakrishnan, in a style peculiarly his own, a mixture of Indian subtlety with complete mastery over the English idiom, gives us a brilliant analysis of Hinduism and its ideals, and its newer developments. In the essay on "Primitive Tribes" Prof. Hutton gives very valuable information regarding primitive tribes and this is of importance to the student of history as well as of anthropology. Mr. Yusuf Ali speaks of Muslim culture and religious thought, Mrs. H. Gray gives an account of the progress of women, and the vernaculars of India are dealt with under the general heading of "Literature and Drama". These consist of the most important of the modern Indian languages, viz. Bengali, Hindi, Marathi, Tamil, Telegu and Urdu. H. G. Rawlinson in his essay "Indian Influence on the West" gives examples of how western thought has been influenced by the eastern, and in conclusion we have a very competent general survey by the editor extending over 250 pages.

We know of no single volume which contains so much material for the study of modern Indian culture from the objective point of view. In the editor's opinion modern civilization connotes three things: the Christian ethic, the rule of law and the conquest of nature by science. Of the rule of law and the power of science, there is no doubt in India, but the Christian ethic has not left a permanent mark in this country. In fact it is doubtful whether, in the impact of western materialism, including socialism and communism, any organized religion will survive in its full development after the World War II. The probability is that the three religions in India—Hinduism, Islam and Christianity—will check the tide of atheism and agnosticism to some extent, but whether they will not themselves be wiped out or changed beyond recognition by that great modern force, communism, remains to be seen.

The book is to be recommended not only to the specialist but also to the general reader who wishes to inform himself about modern India.

A. A. A. F.

Manuscript Illustrations of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra. Reproduced and described by W. Norman Brown. American Oriental Society, New Haven, Connecticut. 1941.

This is a monograph containing full descriptions of the manuscript illustrations from the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, an important work of the Jain Canon. The illustrations are reproduced here from the photos which the author had taken when he was in India, during the years 1934-1935.

The work like its predecessor, the *Miniature Paintings of the Kalpa Sūtra* (Washington, 1934), is very useful in the reconstruction of the history of the art of painting, particularly of the Jain school in the West up to the end of the sixteenth century. The descriptions given are quite comprehensive and will surely serve as a guide in identifying similar scenes found not only in the manuscripts of these two Sūtras but also in the manuscripts of the other works of the Jain Śvetāmbara literature. As a matter of fact these two are the most profusely illustrated works of the Jain Canon and Prof. Brown's efforts to make these dumb pictures tell their own tale are very praiseworthy.

H. D. VELANKAR.

A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins, by John Walker. Published by the British Museum, London, 1941. Pp. clxi+244, with 40 plates. 21/-.

This is the first volume of a new catalogue of Muhammadan coins in the British Museum and contains the Arab coins of the Sassanian type issued in the Eastern Provinces by the Caliphs and Governors of the Umayyad and early Abbasid dynasties from the middle of the seventh century to the early part of the ninth century of the Christian era. These coins were struck after the style of the Sassanian kings of Persia, with a conventional portrait of the king on the obverse and a fire altar with two attendants on either side on the reverse. They bore the Pehlevi or/and Kufic legend, giving the name of the king, mint and date. The early Arab rulers who assumed the government of the Sassanian Provinces after the overthrow of the monarchy retained the national type of the coins current, having Zoroastrian symbols on them.

At least in the field of Numismatics, these conquerors could not alter the existing system, as they desired to make their coins generally acceptable by the people in the newly occupied territories. This appears to be the general practice. No new type of coins was ever abruptly introduced in any country by the conquerors.

This catalogue brings to light a large number of rare and important specimens not only from the Cabinet of the British Museum, but also from other private and public collections. Thus it aims at making it a corpus of these coins. Unfortunately, it

does not include even a single gold coin (which is extremely rare in Arab-Sassanian types). The author has taken great pains in studying the intricate Pehlevi and Kufic writings on these coins and has given us useful tables of the mint signatures with their transliterations and identifications with as much accuracy as he could. Besides the history of the coinage of the Umaiyyad and Abbasid Caliphs in the Eastern Provinces of their empire, the volume provides material for the study of the Kufic and Pehlevi inscriptions, which is so necessary for the reading and identification of the coins.

We very much appreciate the valuable work done by the author in bringing together a large number of these coins, including many new and previously unpublished ones, and a wealth of historical information regarding them. Thereby he has enhanced the educative and reference value of the work.

R. G. G.

Studies in Indo-Muslim History, by Shahpurshah Hormusji Hodivala. Published by the author. Bombay, 1939. Pp. xxiii + 727. Rs.15.

The last of the eight volumes of Elliot and Dowson's *History of India as told by its own historians* was published 65 years ago. This voluminous work consists of translations of the works of Muhammadan historians; and to this day it is one of the most important source-books of Muhammadan history of India. New texts or better manuscripts have since become available and many important works on the subject have been published. Scholars have sometimes drawn attention to some of the mistakes that had naturally crept into this first great attempt. But at the same time other mistaken statements have been taken as correct by many writers without verification.

Prof. Hodivala, after a very careful study of the new material available, has in his book tried to correct a large number of mistakes, whether of interpretation, translation or fact. He has also attempted to identify a large number of place names referred to in the original, and to determine the chronology of events in a number of cases. He has also pointed out a number of instances where the original writers wrote from hearsay and where what they wrote was legendary and wrong or sometimes even opposed to the fact. The few instances given below speak for themselves. The references given are to the volumes and pages of Elliot and Prof. Hodivala's corrections or suggestions follow the quotations.

Translations corrected:

Vol. I, p. 13—"The king and the people of Hind regard fornication as lawful": what is meant is "prostitution as lawful".

- Vol. I, p. 15—"From Sind are brought bamboos". Bamboos do not grow in Sind.
- Vol. II, p. 349—"The Sultan gave his daughter in marriage to the son of the Khan" *ought to be* "the Sultan married (Balban's daughter)".
- Vol. IV, p. 137—"Masud assembled a very large army and marched towards Khurasan". He only intended to assemble an army and march.
- Vol. VII, p. 299—"He was directed to march against the lake of Anasagar". Marching against the lake! What is meant is "ordered to encamp round the lake".

Facts challenged :

- Vol. VIII, p. 8—The statement that Khalidkhani wrote any such book as *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*.
- Vol. VIII, p. 14—The identity of Muhammad Hadi the continuator of *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* with the author of the same name but of another book.

Corrections, Misreadings :

- Vol. I, p. 40—The river "Sandaruz" is really wrongly copied "Shatadru".
- Vol. II, p. 311—"the inhabitants of it are Brahmins and Nunis". The last word should be "Tuins" or Lamas.
- Vol. III, p. 174—"Raran" is not a place; what is meant is "rā Ran", i.e. into the Ran.
- Vol. III, p. 351—Prof. Hodivala points out that "Muwarrikhan" (historians) has been read as a proper name "Mur Khan" who did not exist.
- Vol. IV, p. 230—"when I reached Makam several of my principal adherents advised me, etc.". Makam is not the name of a place; here the word means "a halting place".

Wrong statements discussed :

- Vol. I, p. 64—"The source of the Jailam is in the mountain of Harmakut near the source of the Ganges": The source is neither in Harmakut nor near the source of the Ganges.
- Vol. I, p. 76—"This caste may marry Brahman women, but Brahmins cannot take their women to wife". Here the original writer is at fault and has miscopied a previous author and inverted his meaning. It should be "The daughters of the class of Brahmins are not given in marriage to the sons of this class (the Kataria or Kshatriyas), but the Brahmins take their daughters".
- Vol. VI, p. 383—"A letter from Khurram informed me that Khusrau had died of colic". Prof. Hodivala points out that Prince Khusrau was really strangled.

Wrong interpretation :

Vol. II, p. 114—"That holy personage (Amir Masud) constructed the present bridge." Amir Masud was never a holy personage; he was rather just the opposite. The bridge was built by a pious man called Abuya.

Suggested corrections :

Vol. III, p. 584—"Each of them, amassed a treasure amounting to 70 babins." Dowson suggests that babins are snake-holes. Prof. Hodivala, however, makes a better suggestion that the word is Baiins (or wells) and gives reasons for it.
Vol. IV, p. 352—"Sultan Bahadur went to Surat." Prof. Hodivala reads it as Sorath, and points out the confusion of other writers also over this name.

Identification of geographical names :

Vol. I, p. 56—Mangiri = Monghyr; Dukham = Dogaon.
Vol. I, p. 60—Dhanjur = Rander.

Identification of personal names :

Vol. I, p. 44—Batankal—Patanjali (a well-known Sanskrit author).

It is possible that in some cases the versions, inferences, translations or information, supplied by Prof. Hodivala, may have to be revised. For instance, Prof. Hodivala's note on Tabashir, in Volume I, page 89 of Elliot, correctly refers to Tabashir as a siliceous substance; but the addition that "it is a Saccharose related to cane-sugar" quoted from "Commercial Products of India" does not really refer to Tabashir or Vansrochana but to another substance reported to be derived from the bamboo. But on the whole, Prof. Hodivala's corrections or notes are lucid and informative.

Every one of the 705 closely printed pages of the book testifies to the arduous work that must have been done by Prof. Hodivala in sifting a large amount of historical and other material and in comparing it with Elliot and Dowson's work and like a true investigator the author does not claim infallibility. Everywhere he has given reasons for his criticism and quoted authorities for his statements. We are sure that read with this now indispensable volume of corrections and additions by Prof. Hodivala, Elliot and Dowson's memorable translation will be more useful to the writers of Indian history than before.

R. G. G.

Mārwad kā Itihās (Hindi). Two Parts. By Pandit Vishveshwar-nath Reu. Published by the Archaeological Department, Jodhpur, 1938-40. Pp. 400+5 and 36 plates; and 372+6 with 18 plates. Rs.5 each volume.

Pandit Reu's History of the Rashtrakutas was published by the Jodhpur Archaeological Department in 1933. It contained the history of the early Rashtrakutas or Rathods up to their coming to Marwad. Much of this early history had to be based on the archaeological material available, indirect sources like legendary and other literature and references of foreign travellers.

The present book "Marwad ka Itihas" gives a short preliminary history of Marwar and then begins from the history of the present line of rulers from the time of the advent of Rao Sihaji into Marwad in the earlier part of the thirteenth century. The second volume brings it up to the present times.

Pandit Reu has very carefully tried to assess and evaluate the scanty material available for the earlier period of his history. Progressing to the later period we find that with the gradual increase of the available State records and other sources, the history becomes a compilation of records, about the rulers of Marwar. But in the circumstances which the author mentions in his preface, it was perhaps his aim to finish his work as early as possible; and very recent history had obviously to be more or less biographical owing to the nearness of time.

Some of the useful supplements give details of the administration of the State, its currency and genealogical tables and records the brave deeds of the Rathod rulers.

R. G. G.

Ruins of Dabhoi or Darbhavati. By Jnanaratna Dr. Hiranand Shastri, M.A., M.O.L., D.Litt. Baroda State Press, 1940. Pp. 49 with 21 plates. Rs.5-8-0.

Dabhoi is a small town in the Baroda State containing the antiquarian remains of Darbhavati from which word the present name Dabhoi has been derived. Some of these remains can be said to be gems of mediaeval Gujarati architecture and they have long since won the admiration of lovers of Indian art and antiquity, in India and abroad. The present publication is a comprehensive guide to these old remains. It is a revised but abridged edition of *Antiquities of Dabhoi in Gujarat*, by the late Dr. Burgess and Mr. M. Cousens, published as early as 1888 by the Archaeological Survey of India at the expense of H.H. the Gaekwad of Baroda. This larger old edition with fine illustrations and a beautiful get up is now rare and a second edition of the book was really necessary. Though we miss many fine photographs and useful plans, etc. in

the new edition, it is more handy as a guide book with the additional advantage that the latest discoveries and researches are utilized to bring it up to date. A noteworthy feature is the discussion of the dates of the monuments in the light of references in old literature and inscriptions, brought together by the author.

R. G. G.

Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Baroda State for the year ending 31st July, 1939. By Jnanaratna Dr. Hiranand Shastri, M.S., M.O.L., D.Litt. Baroda State Press, 1940. Pp. 43 with 6 plates. Rs.4-4-0.

The Archaeological Department of the Baroda State has been doing very useful work for the past few years. A large number of monuments have been saved from deterioration and many epigraphical records have been brought to light. The Department has also brought to light some ancient glories of Gujarat by its excavation activities. During the year under report, three more monuments depicting interesting specimens of mediaeval architecture of Gujarat with exquisite stone carving were declared as protected monuments. This brings the number of protected monuments in the State to 47. Ancient structures at Dabhoi and a temple at Mehsana were conserved and saved from decay. Excavations at Amreli in Kathiawar yielded a rich harvest of relics consisting of old coins, clay moulds and conch bangles. All these evidences have enabled the authorities to place the ruins at Gohilwad in the second century A.D.

Of the epigraphical records discovered and published during the year, the most important are a document of the Vaghela Dynasty and a Prasasti of the reign of the Kadamba Ruler Shashtha II, dated 964 S.E.

R. G. G.

A Pillared Hall from the Temple at Madura, in the Philadelphia Museum of Art. By W. Norman Brown. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940. Pp. 88 with 62 illustrations and several woodcuts. Rs.12.

Display of exhibits in their natural surroundings and original positions is the basic principle of the educative policy of modern museology. This aim has been successfully achieved by the authorities of the Philadelphia Museum where a complete Mandapam like that of a South Indian temple has been erected. The material for this was provided by a large number of stone pillars and friezes which originally belonged to the Madan Gopal temple and

a side shrine at Madura. It appears that these pillars, etc. were lying in the debris removed from the temples some years ago, when they were repaired. They were auctioned out and were purchased by Adeline Pepper Gibson and passed on to America and presented to the said Museum in her memory in 1919. The Philadelphia Museum is really very fortunate in having these valuable specimens of South Indian art and architecture. Mr. Norman Brown was sent out to India to study and determine the site, date and significance of the elements comprising the Mandapam, which he has done very successfully.

The book under review is not only a guide to sculptures carved on the pillars and friezes of the Mandapam but is the result of the author's careful study of the art, architecture and history of South India in general and Madura in particular. He has also brought to light a few sculptures, the iconographical explanation of which was not published so far. In the first chapter the author has discussed some controversial points about the Dravidian and the Aryan ages and their cultures and has, in this connection, referred to the recent discoveries at Mohenjodaro and Harappa. These points are in accord with the conservative Western school of thought about India and Indian history and need correction in the light of the latest researches. Barring this, the book should prove of considerable value to Indian scholars and to connoisseurs of art and architecture.

R. G. G.

BOOKS RECEIVED

1. **Akhand Hindustan.** By K. M. Munshi (New Book Co., Bombay). 1942. Pp. 273. Rs.4.
2. **Mother and Mother's Thousand Names.** By Markand R. Dholakia. Vol. II (49 Nyahal Peth, Poona 2). 1941. Pp. 238+56. Rs.4-8-0.
3. **Chinese Sentence Series, First fifty Lessons.** By W. Simon and C. H. Lu (Arthur Probsthain, London, W.C.1). 1942. Pp. 230. 8s. 6d.
4. **Ālambanaparīkṣa and Vṛtti.** By Dinnāga with commentary of Dharmapāla. Edited with English translation by N. Aiyaswami Sastri (Adyar Library Series No. 32). 1942. Pp. 24+126. Rs.3-8-0
5. **Some Concepts of the Alankāra Śāstra.** By V. Rāghavan, M.A., Ph.D. (Adyar Library Series No. 33). 1942. Pp. 20+312. Rs.4.
6. **Vedāntaparibhāṣa.** By Dharmarāja Adhvarin. Edited with English translation by S. S. Suryanarayan Sastri (Adyar Library Series No. 34). 1942. Pp. 40+218. Rs.2-12-0.
7. **Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal, from Sanskrit and Bengali Sources.** By Sushil Kumar De, M.A., D.Litt. (General Printers and Publishers, Calcutta). 1942. Pp. 536. Rs.10.
8. **Ancient Vijñaptipatras.** By Dr. Hiranand Śastri (Śrī Pratāpasīmha Mahārāja Rājyābhiśeka Granthamālā, Baroda, No. 1). 1942. Pp. 80 and 28 plates. Rs.9-11-0.
9. **Administration Report of the Archaeological Department, Travancore State.** 1115 M.E. 1941.
10. **Ismaili Tradition concerning the Rise of the Fatimids.** By W. Ivanow. Published for the Islamic Research Association by the Oxford University Press. 1942. Pp. 22+340+113.

THE BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, POONA

The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, celebrated the 25th Anniversary of its foundation on the 6th July, 1942. During this period the Institute has to its credit a considerable amount of solid and painstaking research, and it is now recognized as one of the most important organizations of its kind in India. The edition of the *Mahabharata* by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar has been acclaimed all over the world as a monument of scholarship, and its methods of establishing the text approved by all competent scholars. We wish the Institute continued success in all its activities.

We would like to mention that during this period the Curator of the Institute, Mr. P. K. Gode, has published no less than 200 papers in different journals, a bibliography of which has been recently published. Such constant devotion to learning and zeal in scholarly pursuits befits the office which this selfless scholar is holding, and does honour to the Institute where he is working. We sincerely hope that he will continue for long his literary activities.

THE ISLAMIC RESEARCH ASSOCIATION, BOMBAY

The Islamic Research Association, Bombay, completes ten years of its existence on the 1st February, 1943. The Committee has decided to celebrate this event by the publication of a volume of Oriental Studies devoted to Islamic research. The Association has performed a useful service to the cause of scholarship by publishing ten volumes in its scholarly series, and we wish it a life of increased fruitfulness.